Language Attitudes and Identity in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

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Abstract

Multiplicity in the construction of language and identity is a salient feature of the Tibetan Dharamsala diaspora (TDD). Irrespective of linguistic diversity and issues of intelligibility among intra-Tibetan groups, a shared perception of a common heritage, and a common plight, accentuated by the displacement of exile, emphasise a desire to preserve and value symbols of Tibetan culture, resulting in the formation and awareness of multiple Tibetic variety repertoires and increased competence in multiple Tibetic varieties.

This research seeks to investigate the language attitudes of the members of the TDD in conjunction with data on linguistic repertoires and informant reported linguistic competence, specifically seeking to establish if a multiple Tibetic variety model constitutes a polynomic language situation, and whether positive attitudes towards a multiple Tibetan identity model increase competence in Tibetic varieties.

The data for this research were collected over a period of a year in the TDD, combining quantitative and qualitative research instruments in a mixed methodology approach. A questionnaire survey was conducted with a large sample size, as well as a verbal-guise test and interviews. The results of the three data collection techniques were triangulated, facilitating an analytical amalgamation structured on the comparison, correlation and contextualisation of data, attempting to capture as much of the complexity of the subject matter as possible.

The research incorporates an interpretive perspective in conjunction with a strong motivation to use informant-led descriptions and definitions of linguistic varieties and cultural items, particularly in reporting on the concepts of linguistic status and purity and the notion of unity in diversity in Tibetan intra-group relationships.

This research is intended to inform the field of sociolinguistics, specifically focusing on the relationship between language attitudes and multiple identity constructions.

“Consuctudo loquendi est in motu” (the vernacular is always in motion) – Jarro ca. 20BD

“Half close your eyelids,

Loosen your hair,

And dream about the great and their pride;

They have spoken against you everywhere,

But weigh this song with the great and their pride;

I made it out of a mouthful of air,

Their children’s children shall say they have lied.” – W.B. Yeats

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Abbreviations, Acronyms, Terminology and notes on translations

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CTA	Central Tibetan Administration (the Tibetan government in exile)
CTS	Central Tibetan Schools
GOI	Government of India
LTWA	Library of Tibetan Works and Achieves
PAP	People's Armed Police
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
RC	Registration Certificate (or Green Book)
TAP	Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
TAR	Tibetan Autonomous Region
TCV	Tibetan Children's Village (part of the Tibetan school system)
TDD	Tibetan Dharamsala diaspora
TGIE	Tibetan Government in Exile
TIPA	Tibetan Institute of Performing Arts
TTS	Tibetan Transit School(s), also called Suja school
TWA	The Tibetan Women's Association
TYC	The Tibetan Youth Congress
UN	United Nations

a-mdo-skad (ཨ་མདོ་སྐད་) – a Tibetic variety associated with Amdo.

Amdo (ཨ་མདོ་) – one of the three Cholka-sum regions of Tibet.

Amdowa (ཨ་མདོ་པ་) – a person associated with the Amdo region of Tibet.

Cholka-sum (ཆོལ་གསུམ་) – the three main regions of Tibet; Amdo, Kham, Utsang. Informants often referred to Cholka-sum in English as ‘the three provinces’.

Chuba – traditional Tibetan dress.

Dasa – abbreviation of Dharamsala, rhymes with Lhasa. Typically refers to McLeod Ganj (Upper Dharamsala).

dbus-gtsang-skad (དབུས་གཙང་སྐད་) – a Tibetic variety associated with Utsang.

gtsug lag khang (གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་) - the main temple in McLeod Ganj.

His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama is frequently referred to as ‘his holiness’ by informants.

Inji (དབྱིན་ཇི་) – foreigner, particularly a Westerner. The direct translation is ‘English’.

Kham (ཁམས་) – one of the three Cholka-sum regions of Tibet.

Khampa (ཁམས་པ་) – a person associated with the Kham region of Tibet.

khams-skad (ཁམས་སྐད་) – a Tibetic variety associated with Kham.

loklaspa (ལོག་ལས་པ་) – television.

McLeod Ganj – sometimes referred to as ‘Upper Dharamsala’. An area of Dharamsala which is the hub of the TDD.

Putonghua is defined as standard Chinese or standard Mandarin Chinese.

Ra-ma-luk-skad – translates as ‘not goat or sheep’, and refers to a speech practice where a speaker uses a repertoire of mixed linguistic varieties. Seen as not pure

rtsam-pa (རྩམ་པ་) – a Tibetan food stuff (barely flour).

Sanjo (གསར་འབྱོར་) – ‘new comer’ or ‘new arrival’, a Tibetan from Tibet. The term can be used as a positive, neutral or in the pejorative sense.

Shejak (གཞིས་ཆགས་) – trans ‘settlement’, a Tibetan born in exile, most likely in one of the settlements in India or Nepal.

shejak-skad (གཞིས་ཆགས་སྐད་) – a diasporic Tibetic variety associated with Shejaks.

skad (སྐད་) - ‘tongue’, ‘language’ or ‘speak’, for example; lhasa-skad. The direct translation is ‘language’ ‘speech’ or ‘sound’. Pronounced /keɪ/.

Skor-ra (སྐོར་ར་) – noun; the path which circumambulates around the main temple.

spri-skad (སྤྱི་སྐད་) – pronounced /tʃeɪ-keɪ/, ‘normal’, ‘common’ or ‘general’ linguistic variety, often of a particular location. In this thesis used the term ‘che-skad’; the initial syllable as a simplified phonetic representation and the latter the Wylie transliteration as used throughout the thesis.

The Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet – Ex-political prisoners’ association (an ngo based in Dharamsala.

thuk-pa – (ཐུག་པ་) Tibetan noodle soup.

Utsang (དབུས་གཙང་) – one of the three Cholka-sum regions of Tibet. The Wylie transliteration is dbus-gtsang (see dbus-gtsang-skad for the associated Tibetic variety).

Utsangpa (དབུས་གཙང་པ་) – a person associated with the Utsang region.

zhe-sa (ཞེ་ས་) – honorifics in the Tibetan language.

Further notes

Regarding Tibetan orthography and the Turell Wylie transliteration (1959) Goldstein (1989 p xvii) declares 'Tibetan written and spoken forms diverge considerably, for the written form contains consonant clusters that are not pronounced'. For example, *bKra-shis* is pronounced *Tashi*. Therefore, to assist the reader a simpler form is used for names and places e.g. Tashi and Lhasa. The Wylie transliteration is used for naming the Tibetic varieties, and in general the Tibetan terms are italicised in the initial instance.

While *Khampas* are from *Kham*, *Amdowas* from *Amdo, Utsangs* from *Utsang*, on occasion informants could use variations on these terms, for example *Amdos* instead of Amdowas. Sometimes informants use these terms to describe linguistic variants, for example instead of 'he speaks *Khams-skad*' an informant might state, 'he speaks Kham' or 'he speaks Khampa.'

Chapter One: Introduction

Multiplicity in the construction of language and identity is an ostensible and substantial feature of the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora (TDD). Irrespective of linguistic diversity and issues of intelligibility among intra-Tibetan groups a shared perception of a common heritage, and a common plight, accentuated by the displacement of exile, emphasises a desire to preserve and value symbols of Tibetan culture. Pan-Tibetan diasporic culture manifests in TDD members' awareness and accommodation of the linguistic and identity construct multiplicities emanating from a myriad of sources from both traditional ethnic Tibetan regional origins in the People's Republic of China (PRC) and from the diaspora.

A diasporic culture of preservation is generated in the TDD from a perceived threat to Tibetan culture in the PRC from the Chinese state authority's 'militant nationalism' (Tsering Shakya 1999 p9). Typically, cultural trends in the 'national minority areas' in the PRC tend to consist of the sinicising of groups with government policy heavily implicit in the alteration. Furthermore, the incorporation of Tibet into China exemplifies an act of colonial expansion and consequently an occupation by a foreign culture which has imposed reform (Goldstein 1989 p27). Yangdon Dhondup (2004 p66) indicates the particular emphasis on the Tibetan language's cultural value asserting that Tibetans can view the language appropriation as accelerating the process of identity loss. The Tibetan diaspora are concerned about the effects of mass Han migration to the Tibetan regions in the PRC, the exclusion of the Tibetan language from the teaching syllabus, forced resettlement of nomadic communities, institutional abuse of the indigenous religious organisations including the imprisonment and

torture of members of the Buddhist clergy, kidnap and murder, and the authoritarianism and tyranny inflicted upon the populace by this foreign occupying power.[1]

1.1 An introduction to the major themes of the research

McConnell (2013 p968) highlights the contemporary effects upon transnationalism and diasporas as 'processes of globalisation' drawing on Isin's (2008 p16) renegotiations of affinities and allegiances due to fluidity and transiency of identity of the displaced (cf. Appadurai 1996, Brah 1996). This research sought to elicit informant identities, informant reported linguistic repertoires and competences in varieties of Tibetan and other linguistic varieties, and informants' language attitudes to investigate how these elements affect, influence and define the TDD and the linguistic practices and associated behaviours of its members. Rubio (2004 p153) highlights the diasporic authorities' strategy to homogenise the Tibetan diaspora's national identity by imposing the "Lhasa dialect" as lingua franca consigning "regional dialects" to the home and other social spaces. However, it is the contention of this research that intra-Tibetan identities and Tibetic varieties, typically with a regional association, are prominent features of the TDD. Furthermore, this research seeks not to investigate informants' attitudinal responses to a two-dimensional model of 'mother tongue variety of Tibetan' versus 'standard Tibetan variety', but to establish an understanding of the complexities of a multiple Tibetan variety model where Tibetan varieties exist with multiple others, holding numerous labels of identity and intelligibility, in conjunction with other components of the model and the numerous opinions and definitions of Tibetan variety speakers.

[1] http://tibet.net/about-tibet/issues-facing-tibet-today/.

Identifying the multiple and possibly conflicting attitudes TDD members may have for the linguistic circumstances, or a particular linguistic variety, can present a discourse whereby these multiple attitudes accumulate into a distinct yet multi-dimensional expression allowing for an understanding, which Garrett (2010 p21) refers to as the attitudinal function in both input and output into and from social action. Due to the diasporic circumstances, the diasporic Tibetan authorities and the TDD focus on validating the Tibetan culture, yet as it is neither homogenous nor fixed TDD members must negotiate a system which values intra-Tibetan group identity and linguistic diversity, yet however utilises inter-Tibetan group dynamics in defining one intra-Tibetan group identity in relation to other intra-Tibetan groups.

Yangdon Dhondup (2004 p66) asserts that 'at a time when Tibetans are struggling to maintain their distinct identity, to keep the language alive is a pre-requisite since it is with its language that they maintain their distinctiveness.' Therefore this research sought to establish how informants defined their Tibetan repertoires and how language attitudes impact on informants' views of the linguistic components of the TDD. The research sought to establish if TDD members had both intra-Tibetan group and pan-Tibetan group allegiances, and whether this duality in informants' identity would manifest in conflicting attitudinal responses to the linguistic varieties present and the linguistic model as a whole, as well as how intra-Tibetan group and diasporic pan-Tibetan identities were represented, specifically regarding the contextualisation of the concepts of 'unity in diversity' and 'sameness in otherness' that define a facet of social cohesion in the TDD.[2] The research draws upon Bourdieu's (2010 p107) assertion that the 'power of words' is not to be found in the word itself, with the study of language attitudes conceivably providing an approach to capture the

[2] These two phrases were expressed by an informant, and their sentiment by several informants. They are used here reflecting the inductive nature of the research.

'performatives' of an illocutionary expression in addition to how 'performatives' in TDD members' expressions of identity are constructed.

Furthermore, the research sought to investigate the role language attitudes play in TDD members' acquisition of Tibetan varieties in both performance and competence abilities. For example, could it be established whether pan-Tibetan identity constructs generate positive attitudinal responses from TDD members regarding the multiple Tibetan varieties model which contribute towards an increase in competence in Tibetan varieties? While it is often cited (cf. Tournadre 2008 p282) that varieties of the Tibetan language are mutually unintelligible, the research sought to establish if the multiple Tibetan varieties model in the TDD constituted a polynomic language situation, using Jaffe's (2003 p515) criteria of internal variation and speaker recognition of linguistic unity in diversity.

Particular to TDD members' awareness of the multiple Tibetan varieties model were issues regarding the prestige of purity and the stigmatisation of perceived impurity, corruption or contamination of the Tibetan language or varieties of the Tibetan language. Would varieties of the Tibetan language that were believed to have incorporated Chinese be more stigmatised that those which were influenced by the host languages of Hindi and English? Would varieties of Tibetan identified as originating from Tibet be ostensibly associated with cultural status, while those varieties of the Tibetan language spoken by Tibetans born and raised in the diaspora stigmatised? Would the informants express conflicting opinions in their responses, allowing for a varied but non-antithetical concept that would allow for linguistic varieties to be assigned both status and stigmatisation?

Hometown and particularly localised identity constructs exist in tandem with the *Cholka-sum* categorisation (the three main regional divisions of Tibet: Amdo, Kham and Utsang). By focusing on the place of birth variable elicited from informants, particularly identifying the

saliency of the Cholka-sum and diasporic (*Shejak*, "Settlement") and non-diasporic (*Sanjo*, "new-arrival") delineations, the research sought to develop an understanding of the concept of intelligibility amongst the speakers of the various varieties of the Tibetan language in conjunction with the acquisition of multiple-Tibetan variety repertoires.

The research perspective views informants' identity using the constructionist model where identity is perceived as processes and not broad labels (Joseph 2004 p84). This is not to deny that essentialism is an obsolete concept, or that constructionism requires fluidity and complexity. The informant-led nature of the research focuses on what identity and language are to the members of the TDD. Therefore, identity as a construction is identified as primarily representative of the individual as this emphasises the awareness of the individual in a social context even if it is to express an allegiance to a group.

This research was conducted over a period of a year in the TDD, combining quantitative and qualitative research instruments (a questionnaire survey, a verbal-guise test and interviews) in a mixed methodology approach. A prominent theme in the data collection was the emphasis on reporting informant-expressed conceptualisations of the subject matter by limiting the synthesis of interpretation of certain aspects of the data. This approach was used particularly with regards to the ontological structural element of the research stressing the importance of reporting not only the attitudes, opinions and perspectives of the informants but using these elements to dictate the perception of the content of the subject matter.

The research incorporates an interpretive perspective in conjunction with a strong motivation to use informant descriptions and definitions of linguistic varieties and cultural items. Of particular relevance to this aspect of the research were the linguistic varieties identified by the informants. The linguistic boundaries of the Tibetan varieties spoken in the TDD are not immobile and exact. The informant perspective enabled the linguistic subject matter to be

shaped and defined by providing credible multiple perspectives that expressed opinion and not a singular authority imposing form or structure where these concepts were obsolete and would compromise the reality of the circumstances. While the research identifies numerous varieties of Tibetan in the TDD, the multiple Tibetan varieties model presented is one that incorporates the concept of a *diglossic intersecting* that allows for any number of varieties of Tibetan using any number of combinations to be present.

Postmodernism's embrace of a pluralistic structure of conceptualisation contains Bauman's (1998 p112-113) assertion that 'the idea of truth belongs to the rhetoric of power… […] The dispute about the veracity or falsity of certain beliefs is always simultaneously the contest about the right of some to *speak with the authority* which some others should *obey*…' The data in all its variants is perceived as 'versions of an external reality' (Bryman 2008 p680). The epistemological perspective thus attempts to attain a qualitative interpretation emphasising informants' attitudes and opinions in conjunction with quantitative data collection techniques to reflect concepts relevant to the entire community thereby asserting authenticity while emphasising the specificity of the salient aspects perceived in the undertaking of this research.

1.1.1 The Tibetan language

According to Delancy (2003 p255) 'Tibetan belongs to the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman, within which it appears to be most closely related to the Tamang-Gurung-Thakali nucleus than to the West Himalayan group' with one of the most salient features of the language being the multiple varieties. Tournadre (2008 p282) estimates that 220 'Tibetan dialects' derived from Old Tibetan are currently spoken by approximately six million people across the PRC, Bhutan, Nepal, India and Pakistan.

Nishi (1986) classifies the Tibetan language into six distinctive groups of Central or Utsang (Lhasa, Shigatse, Sherpa, Kagate, et al), Western Archaic (Balti, Ladakhi, Purik), Western Innovative (Lahul, Spiti), Southern (dialects of Sikkim and Bhutan), Kham, and Amdo with Tournadre (2008 p282) sub-dividing Tibetan into 25 dialect groups determined by their mutual unintelligibility. Delancy (2003 p255) states an equivocal assessment that 'Tibetan consists of a number of dialects, not all mutually intelligible.' Due to the non-linguistic elements affecting the subject as well as the limitations of the present understanding of the variants and intelligibility this ambiguity is a prominent consideration.

Traditionally salient linguistic boundaries were identified along a sub-cultural delineation with nomad-pastoralists' speech referred to as trokka (འབྲོག་སྐད་) distinct from the speech of sedentary agriculturalists described as rongka (རོང་སྐད་) (Tournadre and Dorje 2003 p 31). Among the twenty-five Tibetan varieties Tournadre (2008 p283) signifies twelve major variants: Utsang, Kham-Hor, Amdo and Thewo-Chone situated in the PRC, Ladakhi, Purki and Drenjong in India, Balti in Pakistan, Dzongkha in Bhutan, and Sherpa and Kyirong-Kagate in both the PRC and Nepal. Of these Tournadre (2003 p7) highlights the cultural significance of the Tibetan regional varieties of Utsang, Kham-Hor and Amdo. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001 p50) state that the foremost distinctions between the varieties of the Tibetan language mentioned here are phonological, lexical and syntactic in regard to their auxiliary systems. The term 'Tibetic languages' can be considered a more appropriate description to reflect the linguistic diversity of these dialect groups (Tournadre 2008 p283), yet in conjunction with present tendencies in linguistics this research refers to a linguistic variety of Tibetan either as a 'variety of Tibetan' or a 'Tibetic variety'. Tournadre (2014 p2) asserts that the term 'Tibetic' should not imply 'Tibetic dialect' as this infers a sub-variant of a language.

Several texts and inscriptions of the Tibetan language are preserved from the 8th and 9th centuries which indicate that the simplification of consonant clusters which distinguishes most modern Tibetic varieties from the written form had already begun by the 10th century (Delancy 2003 p270). Tournadre and Dorje (2003 p23) assert that the Tibetic variety they identify as Standard Tibetan, spoken in and around Lhasa, is also spoken in exile and functions as the lingua franca. Denwood (1999 p22) states that several varieties of Tibetan 'occupy a higher sub-level within the level of colloquial dialects' thus serving as lingua francas, citing 'Lhasa Tibetan' and 'Drokke of Amdo' as the two "most important" in the PRC.

The Tibetan writing system is derived from a north-western variety of the seventh-century Gupta script (Van Schaik 2011 p50). The invention of the script and the compilation of the first grammar are attributed to Thonmi Sambhota (Miller 1963) in the reign of Songtsan Gampo in the 7th century AD. At present literary Tibetan is a prestigious variety used by scholars throughout the Tibetan regions (Tournadre and Dorje 2003 p26). While not typically spoken, its use within scholarly domains indicates that intellectual interlocutors have 'a real diglossia in their speech' (Tournadre and Dorje 2003 p27). Both literary Tibetan and spoken varieties of Tibetan have a range of registers with a broad categorisation of either 'polite' or 'ordinary' (Tournadre and Dorje 2003 p28). Honorifics can be found in certain Utsang varieties but not in the regional varieties of Amdo and Kham (Tournadre 2003 p6). Knowledge of literary Tibetan allows for an understanding of lexical discrepancies between Tibetan varieties and therefore comprehension of other Tibetic varieties (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001 p51). Therefore, in practice and as a symbolic concept, literary Tibetan functions as a unifying agency in Tibetan culture.

1.1.1.1 Spoken Tibetic varieties

Central Tibetan is the official language of the Tibetan Autonomous Region (TAR) in the PRC. It is also identified as the official 'language of exile' by Tournadre and Dorje (2003 p26). The terms 'Central Tibetan', 'Standard Tibetan' and 'Utsang Tibetan', as well as even '*lhasa-skad*'[3] can all be used to allude to linguistic labels which are not too dissimilar in certain circumstances. Tournadre and Dorje (2003 p25) assert that Standard Tibetan 'corresponds to the language spoken in central Tibet in the region of Lhasa as well as among the diaspora community.' In my master's research, informants living in Dharamsala used the term 'Utsang Tibetan' as opposed to 'Central' or 'Standard Tibetan', while on occasion Tibetans in the diaspora have used 'lhasa-skad'. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001 p51) believe 'lhasa-skad' to be too restrictive a definition yet motivation for Tibetans to use this terminology derives from prestige, while conversely 'Central Tibetan' would be too broad a term as it encompasses numerous varieties, and this terminology has little cultural meaning to Tibetans.

Tournadre and Dorje (2003 p26) develop their assertion that Standard Tibetan functions as a lingua franca by claiming its usage is primarily among speakers from high social strata, while peasants and nomads are predominantly monolingual speakers of a regional variety (Tournadre and Jiatso 2001 p51). Tournadre (2003 p7) suggests that a Tibetan standard is 'developing spontaneously' in the diaspora and 'to a lesser extent' in the PRC. The term *chos-skad*, 'language of Dharma' (referring to the language of religion and philosophy embodying a literary style in which the scriptures and other classical works are written) can also refer to the common language spoken in monasteries with diverse regional populations (Tournadre and Dorje 2003 p28).

[3] *Skad* (སྐད་) is the Tibetan for 'tongue', 'language' or 'speak', pronounced */keɪ/*.

1.1.1.2 The language situation in Tibet

Initially after the Mao era PRC policy took positive steps to develop a pluralist system accommodating "minority nationalities" and designing educational programmes, curriculum content and the language of instruction in schools on national minority languages in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Bass 1998 p50). However, firstly by introducing a bilingual model then removing Tibetan entirely from school syllabi Tibetan is being systematically suppressed in the PRC as part of what the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) [previously referred to as the Tibetan government-in-exile] argue is part of a policy of cultural genocide (Sautman 2006 p177, p196).

Where Tibetans and Chinese converge, a variety of mixed Tibetan-Chinese spoken by Tibetans referred to as *ra-ma-luk-skad*[4] has emerged (Tournadre 2003 p8). Tournadre (2003 p4) indicates the existence of language shift in the extent of code-switching among young Tibetan urbanites by claiming that they are 'incapable of forming a sentence in Tibetan without using Chinese words, despite the fact that most of the time the Tibetan equivalents exist.' Tournadre (2003 p6) accounts for Tibetan-Chinese mixed speech, code switching and the substantial borrowing of Chinese terms by Tibetans as the result of 'linguistic or sociolinguistic insecurity', claiming that while many Tibetans speak Chinese and Tibetan proficiently enough to competently express themselves either in one variety or the other, they are 'not completely comfortable in either of the two languages'. Wang (2009 p132) argues that 'learning Tibetan simply is not necessary' reasoning that it would benefit the Tibetans to learn Chinese to 'strengthen their position', citing the popular Tibetan blogger Woeser's own belief that she writes in Chinese so as not to be "marginalised". Wang's attitude is not a pre-cursor to language shift but further evidence of it.

[4] Mixed speech or mixed language, translated as 'half goat half sheep language' according to Tournadre (2014 p19) or 'neither goat nor sheep language.' Hill emphasised the eloquence of the translation 'neither fish nor fowl' in discussion in August 2014.

While Tibetan is present in the linguistic landscape of Lhasa as the law requires bilingual texts on official signs and notices, however the Tibetan text is often smaller than the Chinese and often misspelt (Tournadre 2003 p4). Outside Lhasa the bilingual regulations are not always respected (Tournadre 2003 p4). Linguistic domain reduction of Tibetan has intensified adverse attitudes (Tournadre 2003 p4), and has resulted in Tibetans having 'quickly turned away from their own language' (Tournadre 2003 p7). Tournadre (2003 p7) emphasises the 'extraordinary' prestige of Chinese in Tibet. Typically this status can influence linguistic choices and be a contributing factor in language shift, especially in less intimate communication (Fishman 2006 p97).

Tournadre (2003 p6) emphasises a linguistic distinction between rural and urban society in the TAR and other traditionally Tibetan regions, claiming that to function in the urban context a Tibetan must be fluent in Tibetan, Chinese and Tibetan-Chinese mixed speech. Yangdon Dhondup (2004 p139) asserts that for Tibetans residing in the PRC Chinese is the language of the dominant culture, administration and modernity. Tournadre (2003 p6) describes 80% of the Tibetan population in the PRC as a marginalised group of rural peasants and nomads with a limited knowledge of Chinese, who are often illiterate in Tibetan and face considerable linguistic obstacles when dealing with public administration, hospitals and banks.

Educational reform in the TAR and surrounding areas has instigated a trend towards Sino-assimilation (Maconi 2008 p174). An increasing Chinese bias in the curriculum since the mid-90s has acted as a catalyst for 'a steady decline in the use of Tibetan and a bolstering of Chinese which is becoming dominant' (Tournadre 2003 p3, Yangdon Dhondup 2004 p40). Lobsang Sangay (1999 p294) states that even at the time of writing, Chinese was the medium of instruction in almost every school in the TAR, contrary to the Regional National

Autonomy law which stipulates that 'minority languages should be used as the medium of instruction' (Lobsang Sangay 1999 p293).

The responsibility for the decline and endangerment of the Tibetan language in the PRC clearly falls to the regional and central governments according to Tournadre (2003 p8). The Law of the People's Republic on Regional National Autonomy and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China both decree that minorities have a right to use and preserve their native languages.[5] Further regulations on protecting the Tibetan language were adopted by the National People's Congress (NPC) in 2002, yet instead of ensuring protection some of the articles in the regulations 'are striking in their ambiguity and lack of detail and realism' (Tournadre 2003 p2). Kipuri (2009 p60) concurs, identifying assimilation policies as a deliberate attempt to deny indigenous groups their own identities and cultures and cause indigenous varieties to die out. Tibetan in all its forms must be regarded as an endangered language 'condemned to an irreversible decline, if not to outright extinction within two generations, if the present linguistic policy is maintained' (Tournadre 2003 p8). TDD members are aware of the continuing constraints placed upon the Tibetan language in the PRC. However, radical language shift and the possible perceived moribund status of Tibetan are not expressed as imminent dangers.

1.1.1.3 The Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora speech community

Multiple Tibetic varieties from the vast ethnic Tibetan areas in the PRC and the diasporic settlements have converged onto the TDD. Intra-Tibetan group membership acts as a strong dynamic in determining TDD members' relationships in the community, yet social interaction

[5] Law of the People's Republic of China on Regional National Autonomy 1984, Article 36, 37 as cited in Lobsang Sangay (1999).

is not limited exclusively to members of the same region, sub-region, hometown or intra-group network. Therefore the language contact situation forms a multiple Tibetic variety model which potentially incorporates a spectrum of linguistic abilities in multiple Tibetic varieties.

In all its forms Tibetan is perhaps the most prevalent language spoken in the TDD followed by the host languages of Hindi and English. English exists not only as a host language but functions as a lingua franca among the international community. A number of other linguistic varieties spoken in the TDD by non-Tibetans include the indigenous linguistic varieties Gaddi, varieties originating from the Punjab and Kashmir, and numerous varieties spoken by tourists from abroad.

Therefore to identify the TDD as a speech community is not to claim that all its members share the commonality of at least one particular variety. Labov (1972 p120-121) states that 'the speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements so much as by participation in a set of shared norms.' Nonetheless, theorising a definition of speech community does create conflicting definitions. Milroy and Milroy (1992 p3) suggest that Labov's definition highlights divisions more than the agreement of individuals as being part of a whole. Coulmas (2010 p7) stresses the role of social norms 'since it is by virtue of its members having desires and preferences that the speech community creates and perpetuates its language'.

Anand (2002 p176) indicates the contemporary and homogeneous processes of modernisation, colonialism and displacement forming Tibetanness. While Venturino (1997 p114) depicts the Tibetan diaspora as a heterogeneous group unified by socio-political motivations. This is not to infer that TDD members would simply become monolingual speakers of a standard or proto-standard. Morgan (2004 p11) provides further insight on the topic by suggesting that

'while proficiency in a common language is a significant component of many speech communities, this knowledge need not be in relation to a standard dialect or norm or even a single language'. For example, a polynomic language situation where speakers of different linguistic varieties can communicate due to mutual intelligibility may create a situation where a single standard variety is unnecessary.

In 2007 there were nearly seventeen thousand Tibetan children receiving an education at one of the Tibetan Children's village (TCV) schools throughout India.[6] The children experience bilingual education typically of English and Tibetan with a strong emphasis placed on the teaching of Tibetan,[7] as well as the Tibetan culture. Article 17 of the Charter of Tibetans in Exile states the need for structuring an ideal education policy not only based upon the current situation of Tibetans in exile, but also with an eye on Tibet in the future 'when a self-governing status is attained for the whole of the three *Cholkhas* of Tibet.[8]

Skutnabb-Kangas (2010 p201) emphasises that retaining the mother tongue for 'psychological, cognitive, and spiritual' needs requires children to become high-level multilinguals, specifically highlighting the importance of the mother tongue for communication with relatives. This point can be applied not only to Tibetan children in the PRC, but also children from the Tibetan areas within the PRC who are at present receiving their education in the TDD.

1.2 The Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

Tibetans began residing in Dharamsala in the Kangra district of Himachal Pradesh in Northern India in 1960 and since then it has become a place of significance for the diaspora

[6] tcv.org.in (2007).
[7] Probably best described as a diasporic shejak-skad variety.
[8] tcewf.org (2011 p1). Referred to in the research as Cholka-sum.

often being portrayed as the Tibetan capital in exile. A number of organisations and institutions associated with the Tibetan diaspora such as the CTA, the Tibetan Refugee Reception Centre and the Tibetan Transit school (TTS), The Tibetan Library of Works and Archives (TLWA), the headquarters of the Tibetan Women's Association (TWA) and the Tibetan Youth Congress (TYC), and the official residence of His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama are all based in Dharamsala. A salient feature of Dharamsala is the tourist industry. Leisure activities predominantly involve enquiries into Buddhism, trekking, sex tourism, and the simulation of altruism in volunteer tourism.

Figure 1.1 Map of Northern India situating Dharamsala

The two major waves of Tibetans entering into exile came around 1959 and over an extended period beginning from the early 1980s. Exact figures detailing the annual influx of Tibetans into exile are elusive, yet in the last two decades sources cite between one and three thousand (MacDonald 2013 p50, p61, Routray 2007 p80). According to the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile produced by the Planning Commission of the CTA on the 12th April 2009, 127,935 Tibetans were living outside the Tibetan areas of the PRC, or approximately 3% of the total ethnic Tibetan population.[9] Of that number 94,203 were reported to be living in

[9] Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile (2009) p13.

India.[10] The Demographic Survey lists 41 settlements in India with the 'scattered' settlement of Dharamsala as the largest with a population of 13,701.[11] Since the previous 1998 Demographic Survey the overall number of Tibetans in exile had increased by 16,915 with an increase of 5,590 Tibetans living in Dharamsala.[12]

The population figures for Tibetans living in the PRC and the diaspora are contentious due to the political influence. Heberer (2001 p113) indicates that the 1990 Chinese census states that 4.6 million Tibetans reside in the PRC, while the popular figure expressed in the diaspora is 6 million. Tournadre (2014 p12) asserts that there are roughly 6 million speakers of Tibetan in all its form, therefore this figure is considered most relevant to the research. The demographic configuration of the diaspora is also of relevance. Using the 1991 Tibetan Parliament in exile election results Rubio (2004 p16) reports that 70% of the Tibetan refugees in South Asia belong to the former Tibetan provinces of Utsang and Ngari, 25% to the province of Kham, and 5% to the province of Amdo. Rubio (2004) cites Chinese official statistics from 1959 to contextualise those of the diaspora with 20% for Utsang, 53% for Kham and 27% for Amdo (Rubio 2004 p16 cites DIIR 1994 p93). However, during the 1990s 'most of the new arrivals came from Kham and Amdo' therefore it must be assumed that the diasporic demographics have altered (Rubio 2004 p51).

Dharamsala is identified by many Tibetans as a place that facilitates the opportunity to go abroad adding to the notion of transiency of these diasporic conditions. The Demographic Survey reports that overall 52% of those that took part in the survey have migrated from their place of birth,[13] while 31% stated that they intended to migrate with 24.6% stating that they

[10] Ibid p13.
[11] Ibid p66.
[12] Ibid p66.
[13] Ibid p35.

wished to migrate abroad.[14] 3,220 Tibetans living in Dharamsala stated that they intended to migrate, with 924 indicating that they wished to migrate internally within India and a further 2,296 stating that they wished to emigrate abroad.[15] While political asylum is at the heart of the issue, the motivation or explicit narratives cited often involve a chance to provide economic benefit or stability to individuals and their families.

The second salient issue regarding the transient population is that possibly nearly half of the Tibetans that leave the PRC return due to temporary visas, an end to their education and the lack opportunities to subsist. If Tibetans from Tibet do not fit the age requirement allowing entry into the diasporic education system it can result in the inability to obtain or renew residency permits, which in turn indicates that if they are unable to remain in India or acquire entry into another country they must return to Tibet. Rubio (2004 p48) states that if a Tibetan has to return to Tibet then they are 'ostracised' and 'persecuted' by the Chinese authorities. Those that are not able to officially assimilate into the diasporic system receive official status as short term visitors specifically on pilgrimage. MacDonald (2013 p24) cites a U.S. Embassy cable ("10NewDelhi290, Tibet Growing Frustration after Latest Round" Wikileaks, February 11, 2010, Web, July 6, 2010) and an International Campaign for Tibet article ("Dangerous Crossings: Conditions Impacting the Flight of Tibetan Refugees in 2001" 2002) regarding the experience of Tibetans from Tibet in India. The former source reports that data obtained from the Dharamsala Refugee Reception Centre indicates that 'of the 87,096 refugees that were taken in by the centre from 1980 to 2009 over half (46,620) returned to Tibet', while the later source states that one third of Tibetans entering into exile were children entitled to remain in India at least for the duration of their education.

[14] Ibid p35.
[15] Ibid p69.

Tibetans born in India also feel the constraints of the diaspora. As India has not signed the Geneva Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) or the protocol of 1967 that updated the convention Tibetans have few to no rights guaranteed to them under either national or international law (McGranahan 2010 p16). Refugee status 'carries the burden of being unable to purchase land or housing, of having difficulties obtaining employment outside of the refugee community, as well as of needing to obtain permission every time one wishes to travel around in and outside of India' (Rubio 2004 p55). These factors discussed, in combination with the political narratives of the Tibet issue, illustrate the displacement and instability associated with the diaspora.

One of the salient aspects of the adaptation and development of the Tibetan culture in exile has been the emergence of a diasporic culture of preservation. Anand (2002 p200) states that 'if we are to identify one crucial theme running through the collective discourses and practices of the Tibetan diaspora, it is the preservation of tradition and culture.' The cause and motivation for this diasporic culture of preservation are apparent yet while Powell (1992 p384) reports that the Dalai Lama asserts that the diasporic Tibetan culture is purer than the Tibetan culture in the PRC the issue of authentic cultural expression is not as simple as to fix the diasporic/non-diasporic dichotomy (see section 2.12 for a more in-depth discussion).

1.3 The historical discourse in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

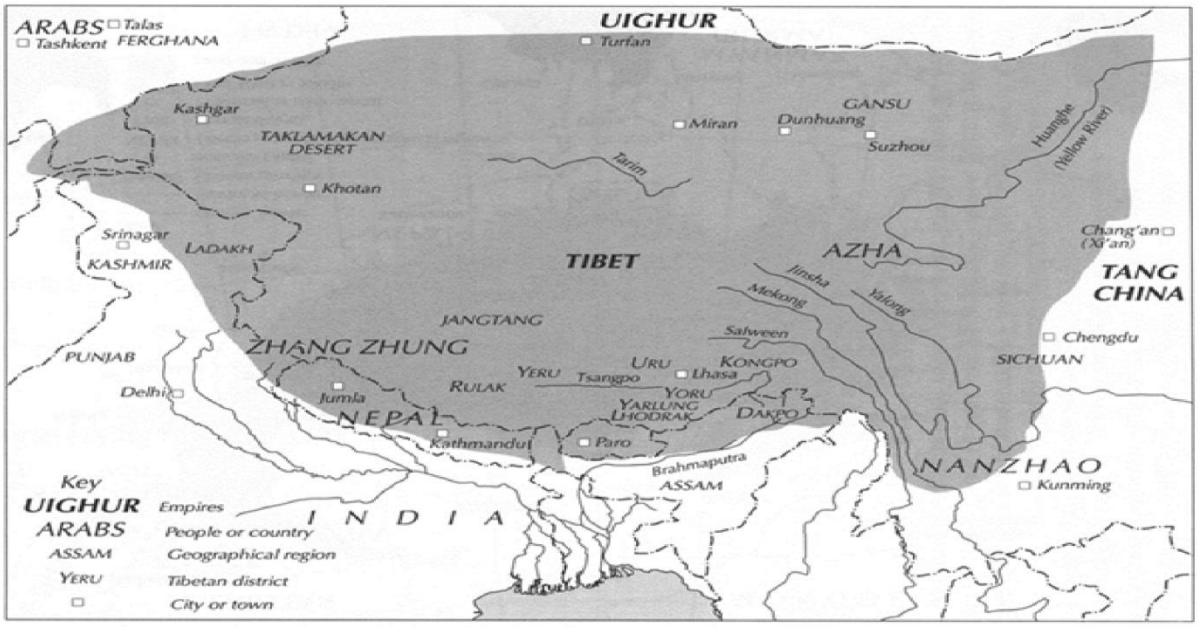
'Although current Tibetan narratives of self-representation have emerged as a result of the Chinese occupation of Tibet and are influenced by Western political ideas, Tibetan national identities in exile are rooted in a sense of *ethnie*, or ethnic identity, which is deeply historical' (Rubio 2004 p15). The following sections present the historical discourse of Tibet in the TDD, which provoke Goldstein's (1997 p56) notion of "representations" attaching political

and cultural inferences. In summarising Tibet's historical events two crucial factors are emphasised. First is the impact that foreign actors have had on Tibet and secondly are the particular reactions to these circumstances by the Tibetans.

1.3.1 The foreign patron and internal discord

The reign of Songtsen Gampo (c.617 – 649AD) the 33rd king of the Yarlung Dynasty and the first of the Dharma Kings (*chosgyal*) is a prominent discourse analogising the "beginning of history" as it is synonymous with the status of an expansionist empire and the popularisation of Buddhism (Tsepon Shakabpa 1984 p25-27).

Figure 1.2 Map of the Tibetan Empire in the late eight – early ninth centuries referenced with modern borders (Kapstein 2006 px)



According to the PRC Chinese and Tibetan unification took place under Mongolian rule in the 12th century; conversely pro-Tibetan historians argue that China and Tibet remained two separate entities within the Mongol Empire. Following the Mongol invasion of Tibet by prince Kotan in 1240 Mongol influence in Tibet became commonplace as Mongol princes

formed alliances with various Buddhist sects in a mutually beneficial relationship comprising of patronage and protection (Smith 2008 p83).

Drogon Choegal Phagpa was appointed Qubilai Khan's Imperial Preceptor and was made the ruler of Tibet in 1264 (Kapstein 2006 p 112). This association between the two prominent figures was defined as a *Cho-Yon* (Priest-Patron) relationship. As Powers (2004 p55) observed, 'it was a relationship of dependence and subordination' with each party able to ascertain the requisite position of status. However, after the collapse of the Yuan Dynasty Sino-Tibetan relations reverted back to the mutual isolation of the Song era (Tsering Topgyal 2011 p83).

Throughout the Ming era the areas to the east beyond the central Tibetan plateau had maintained tribute-cum-trade relations with the Chinese, yet political control remained localised by the lamas and native chieftains (Dawa Norbu 2001 p66). The Ming Empire made several attempts to create the appearance of inheriting Yuan *rule* of Tibet, yet were 'not part of the political power structure of Tibet' (Smith 2008 p6-7). As Sperling (2004 p27) contends, 'there was no Ming political authority over Tibet – no ordinances, laws, taxes etc., imposed inside Tibet by the Ming'.

The emergence of the Gelug sect and the rule of the Great 5th Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyatso (1617 – 1682 AD) unified central Tibet with support from the Qoshot Mongol Gushri Khan (Dawa Norbu 2001 p66). Early Tibeto-Qing relations resembled the Tibeto-Yuan Cho-Yon relation in earnest, yet European influence redefined the relationships at a state-level in the region shaping later Qing policies into more politically integrationist and culturally assimilationist forms, in turn provoking violent Tibetan resistance and nationalism (Tsering Topgyal 2011 p85-86). Throughout the 18th century Qing Dynasty extended its influence on

Tibet; gaining political leverage in central Tibet, founding Qinghai province in 1724, and incorporating eastern parts of Kham into the neighbouring provinces in 1728.

The involvement of Qing troops in the repulsion of the Gurkha invasion of 1791 gave the Qing emperor the opportunity to instigate reform in the Twenty-Nine Article Imperial Ordinance decree of 1793 whereby the Ambans[16] in Tibet experienced an increase in status (Smith 2008 p8). Qing influence in Tibet waned during the 19th century. However, Tibet became embroiled in the British and Russian empires' competition for supremacy in Central Asia (Knaus 1999 p4). The British sought 'ways and means to enter into direct negotiations with the Lhasa government', which culminated in the Younghusband Military Expedition of 1903 (Tsepon Shakabpa 2010 p279).

The Chinese commenced a colonial enterprise in Kham in 1904 in reaction to the British presence in central Tibet instigating a cycle of Khampa rebellion against the Chinese and suppression which carried on until mid-1906. In 1909 the 13th Dalai Lama sought international assistance upon learning of the Chinese intentions to increase their military presence in Lhasa. Upon establishing that the Amban had deceived him the 13th Dalai Lama entered into exile for a second time in 1910, choosing Darjeeling for refuge. The Qing court responded by deposing him from both his spiritual and political offices.[17]

Following the abdication of the Qing emperor on the 12th of February 1912 Yuan Shikai, the president of the Republic of China, attempted to authorise the restoration of the Dalai Lama to his previous offices. In response the 13th Dalai Lama distanced himself from China and forged the foundation of a modern independent Tibetan state. From India, the 13th Dalai Lama organised a secret war department, started a rebellion in Tibet and expelled the Qing

[16] A Manchu high officials.
[17] Tsering Topgyal (2011 p90) citing Imperial Decree on the 25th February 1910, translated by Teichman 1922 p16-17 from the Chinese Government Gazette.

forces in April 1912. He returned to Lhasa in January 1913 and declared Tibet's independence (Tsepon Shakabpa 2010 p336).

From 1911 until 1950 The Tibetan regions under the rule of the Tibetan government in Lhasa were unaffected by Chinese rule and exercised total control in all external and internal matters (Tsering Shakya 2009 p100). Eastern Tibet remained in a perpetual state of flux contested by Lhasa and Beijing, ruled sometimes by Chinese warlords, sometimes by Lhasa officials or by local Tibetan chieftains or Lamas (Tsering Topgyal 2011 p93).

The Shimla Convention of 1913-1914 effectively split Tibet into 'Inner Tibet' and 'Outer Tibet' with different levels of authority to be exercised by Beijing and Lhasa in each segment (Lamb 1989 p10-11). Although the Chinese representative initialled the agreement, Beijing immediately repudiated it. A bilateral agreement was signed by the British and Tibetan plenipotentiaries.

Attempting to instigate modernising reforms created factions between reformists and monastic conservatives in Tibet which essentially halted the 13th Dalai Lama's programme for modernisation (Mckay 1997 p115-118, Goldstein 1989 p136). The decisive blow to the Tibetan authorities' maintenance of stability came on the 17th of December 1933 when the 13th Dalai Lama died. The work of the 13th Dalai Lama was effectively undone in the subsequent decades. Almost immediately a power struggle ensued, followed by a brief civil war between the regent and the disposed regent (Goldstein 1989 p139-212, p464-521). While Tibet's enemies had often been of immense stature the inability to adapt and successfully resolve the weak aspects of the structure of authority proved to be a fundamental aspect in the country's demise.

Figure 1.3 Map of the Tibetan frontier as claimed by Tibetans in 1914 (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)

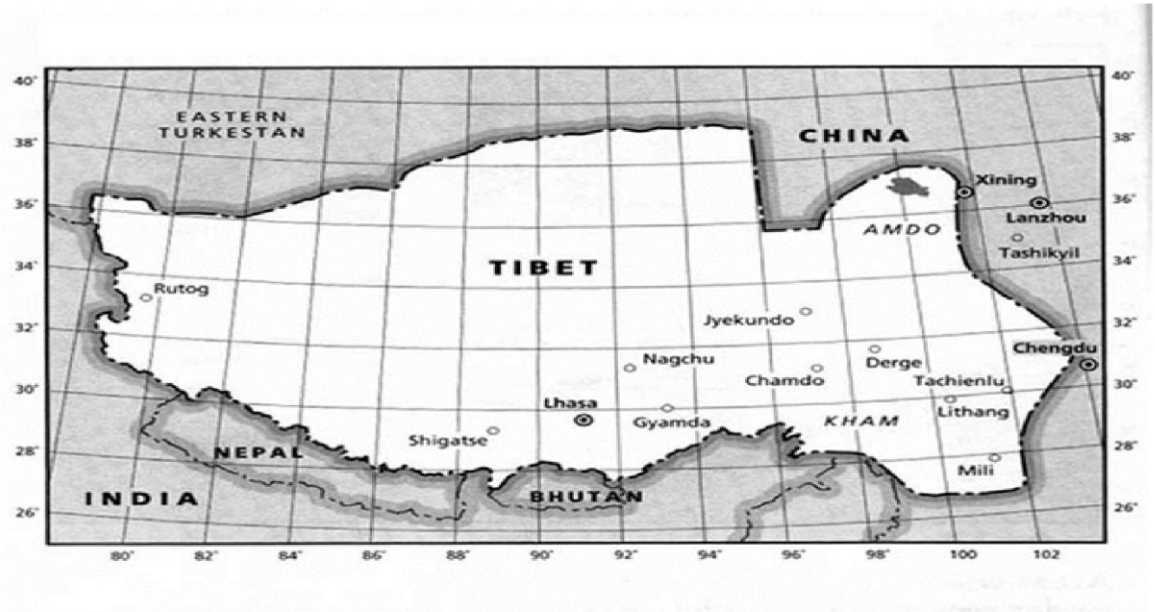


Figure 1.4 Map of the Tibetan frontier as claimed by Nationalist Chinese in 1914 (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)

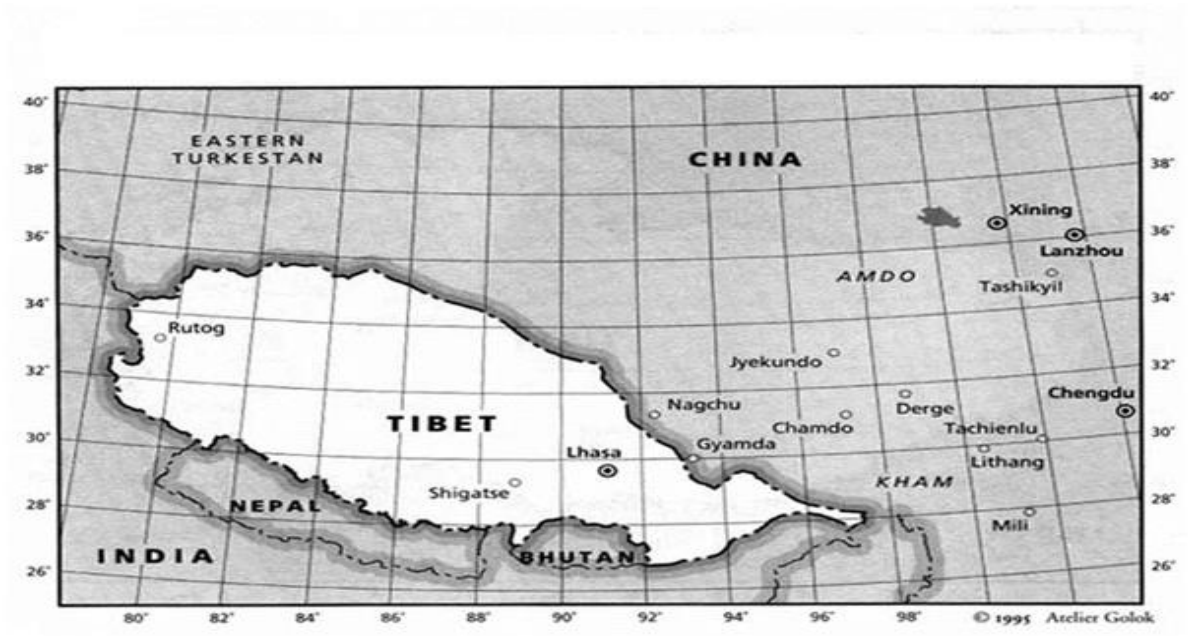


Figure 1.5 Map of the Tibetan frontier as proposed at the Tripartite Shimla Conference in 1914 (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)

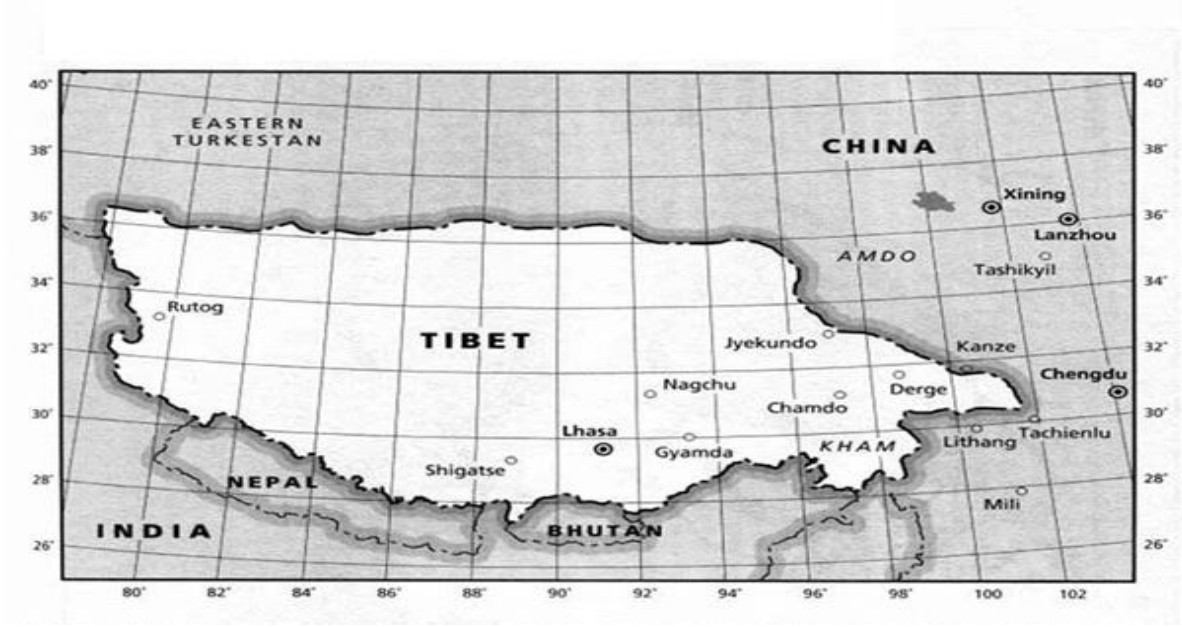
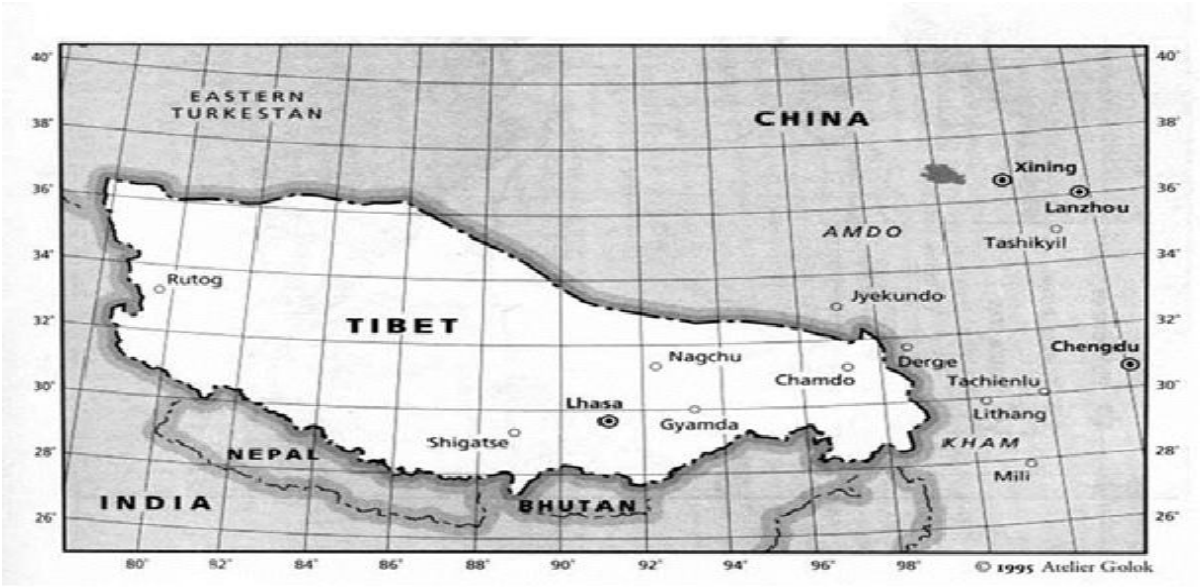


Figure 1.6 Map of the Tibetan territories under the governance of the 13th Dalai Lama from 1918 to 1950 (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)



Lin (2006 p13) argues that Chinese Nationalist claims of sovereignty over central Tibet were purely 'rhetorical grandstanding' to 'maintain its nationalist facade and political legitimacy'. In eastern Tibet the Chinese Nationalists maintained nominal rule through a combination of Chinese (Han and Hui) warlords and native Tibetan rulers (Tsering Topgyal 2011 p95). In the early 1920s to enlist support from 'national minorities' during the Chinese civil war and the Japanese intrusion into Chinese territory the Communists promised self-determination, including the right to secede from China, to non-Han nationalities (Smith 1996 p336-40).

Article 50 of the Common Programme of the first Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) on the 29th of September 1949 indicated the need for national equality, unity and cooperation to 'oppose imperialism and their own public enemies… [n]ationalism and [Han] chauvinism' (Smith 2004 p9). The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) declared that self-determination had been achieved for everyone, including non-Han nationalities, as self-determination was interpreted as a right for the Chinese to forge a unified and sovereign nation-state (Zhao 2004 p175).

In 1949, sixteen years after the death of the 13th Dalai Lama and his proclamation calling the Tibetans to prepare for Chinese attempts at occupation, the Tibetans expelled the Chinese authorities from Lhasa. In October 1950, The People's Liberation Army (PLA) invaded Tibet. The Tibetan army surrendered to the PLA with little resistance in Chamdo in Kham effectively instigating the demise of the Tibetan state. On the 17th of November 1950 Tenzin Gyatso was officially enthroned as the 14th Dalai Lama making him the temporal ruler of Tibet at the age of 15. Under the threat of a full invasion into central Tibet and coercion and intimidation from the Chinese representatives at the 1951 negotiations in Beijing the Seventeen Point Agreement for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed by Tibetan representatives, with the Chinese forging the Tibetan seals in order to authenticate the

document without agreement from either the Dalai Lama or the Tibetan government (Tenzin Gyatso 1983 p88).

Figure 1.7 Map of ethnic Tibet in the 20th century (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)

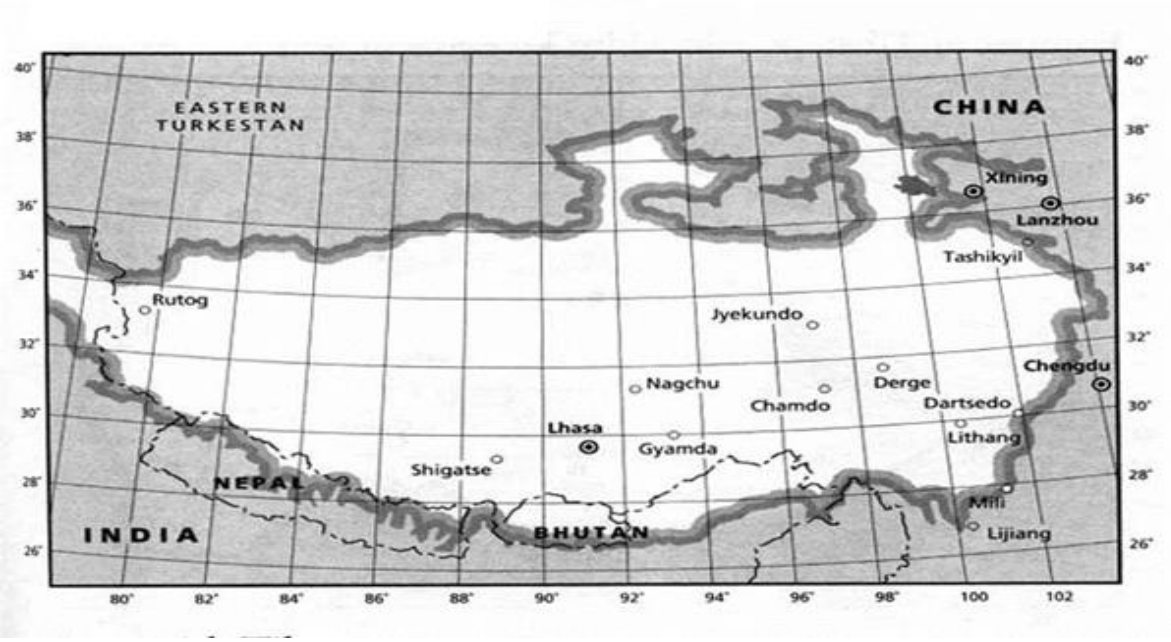
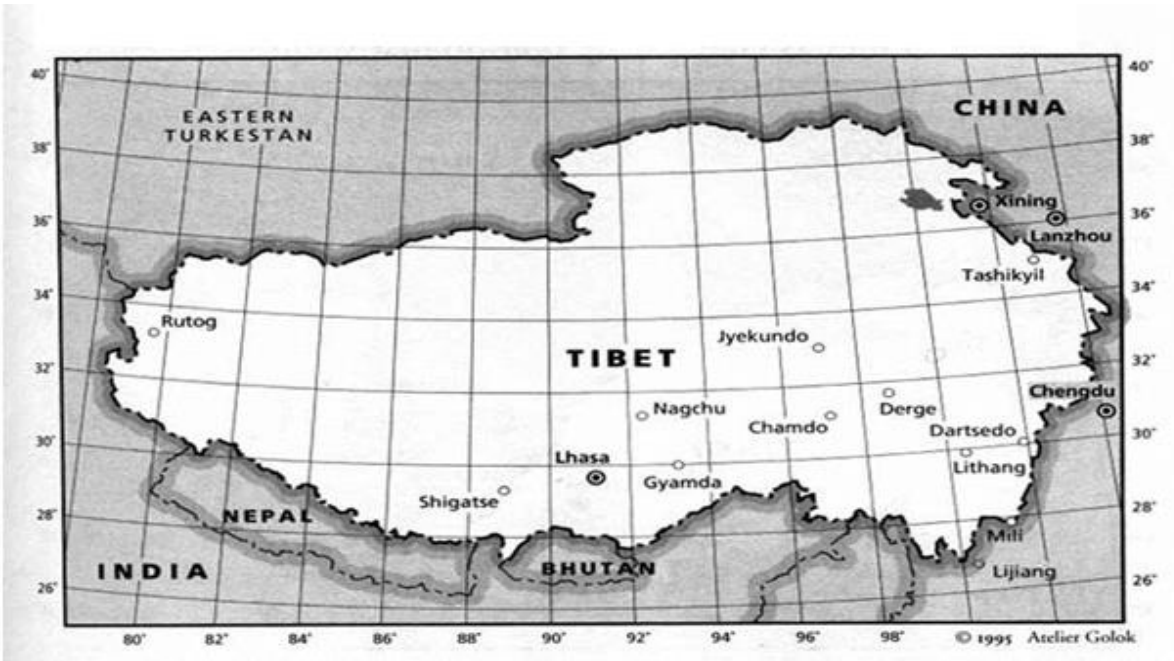


Figure 1.8 Map of areas with Tibetan autonomous status under regional and prefectural administration since 1965 (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)



1.3.2 The People's Republic of China invasion and its aftermath

From 1950 until 1959 the Lhasa authorities attempted to remain in some form of power in tandem with Beijing. While the Chinese were fastidious in placating the central Tibetan region both Amdo and Kham faced radical reform which initiated mass migration and open revolt (Shakya 1999 p245-249, 296, 322-323). In as early as 1952[18] in Kham extreme social reform, land reform, *thamzings* or struggle sessions (public torture, humiliation, maiming and death), destruction of monasteries and acts of genocide by the Chinese became the catalyst for a Tibetan guerrilla campaign which continued until 1973-4 (Knaus 1999 p301 and McGranahan 2010 p158). The Chinese authorities were reluctant to enact such extremes in the central Tibetan region, embarking on a policy that attempted to seduce and manipulate the members of the existing establishment, entitled the United Front policy. The Tibetan nobility and the manorial estate systems continued to function unchanged (Goldstein 2007 p541).

By 1959 the PRC's United Front policy of placating the Tibetan elite in central Tibet and attempting to draw support from the lower classes had failed to achieve its objectives. The relationship between the Tibetans and the PRC was strained at all levels and the region was finding it difficult to cope with the influx of some 60,000 Tibetans from the eastern regions that had fled the extreme circumstances of reforms and rebellion (Wang 2009 p48).

In March 1959 rumours spreading in Lhasa that the PLA were preparing to abduct the Dalai Lama proved too incendiary for the Tibetan populace resulting in the Lhasa Uprising and the Dalai Lama entering into exile. The Chinese violently suppressed the revolt with approximately 87,000 Tibetans reported to be 'eliminated' (an ambiguous term referring to

[18] Thondup 1992 cited in McGranahan 2010 p67.

neutralisation but not necessarily by death) from March 1959 to the beginning of October 1960.[19]

Post-1959 ostensible Tibetan involvement in the rule of Tibet faded. In India the exiled Tibetan authorities and the first wave of migrants (approximately 30,000 by September 1959 increasing to 40,000 by October 1964 (Holborn 1975 p720-722)) began structuring an existence which was anticipated as a temporary circumstance. However, the UN 'downgraded' the Tibet issue from one of sovereignty to that of human rights in 1959 (McGranahan 2010 p37).

By 1987 Beijing began returning to hard-line policies such as the 'Anti-Bourgeois Liberalisation Campaign' (Smith 2008 p597). According to Goldstein (1989 p76) and Tsering Shakya (1999 p412-413) the inability of the PRC to engage in sincere negations with the exiled authorities led to the Tibetan government in exile to alter its strategy and to campaign for international political support.

From the 27th of September 1987 until the 6th March 1989 a number of major demonstrations and riots occurred in Lhasa opposing Chinese rule (Goldstein 1997 p79-83). Martial law was declared on the 7th of March lasting until 30th April 1990, which effectively ended the period of unrest.[20] The popular Tibetan uprisings of the late 80s were not replicated again until 2008. The International Campaign for Tibet reported 159 separate Tibetan demonstrations in the PRC in the months prior to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, with 117 occurring in the Tibetan regions outside the TAR (Smith 2010 p37). A salient outcome of these circumstances was renewed emphasis on Tibetan nationalism in the PRC and in the diaspora (Smith 2010 p258-259). Post-2008 has led to an escalation in self-immolations (at the time of writing 113

[19] Smith 2008 p451 citing figures from a Chinese document captured by the Tibetan Resistance in 1966 entitled 'Political Situation in Tibet and Basic Education Document, People's Liberation Army Political Bureau, 10 January 1960'.

[20] Defying the Dragon: China and Human Rights in Tibet (London: Tibet Information Network and Law Association for Asia and the Pacific Human Rights Standing Committee 1991 p27.

Tibetans have died protesting in this manner in the PRC[21]): an apt representation of their circumstances in terms of expression, options and observers' indifference.

1.4 Chapter summary

Multiplicity in the construction of language and identity are salient features of the TDD, accentuated by a diasporic culture of preservation. This research seeks to establish TDD members' linguistic performance and comprehension abilities, and to develop an understanding of the relationship between these abilities and the concepts of language attitudes and identity. The present circumstances of the TDD members emphasise these concepts due to awareness of the multiple linguistic circumstances. In particular the research seeks to establish whether the TDD constitutes as a polynomic situation and whether positive attitudes towards the multiple Tibetan identities and the Tibetan language increases competence in multiple variants of Tibetan.

The traditional socio-cultural delineation of the three regions of Tibet (Amdo, Kham and Utsang) form distinctive intra-Tibetan group identity constructs in addition to a diasporic intra-Tibetan Shejak or settlement identity. Regardless of intra-Tibetan identity, the pan-Tibetan form appears to be universal in the TDD, producing a duality in TDD members' identity constructs contextualised in the concepts of 'unity in diversity' or 'sameness in otherness' which allow for the realisation of a complex language attitude model which supports a number of conflicting attitudes towards Tibetan varieties in both status and solidarity traits present in the TDD. Pan-Tibetanness and diasporic Tibetan nationalism use

[21] http://www.savetibet.org/resources/fact-sheets/self-immolations-by-tibetans

historical discourse to contextualise contemporary Tibetan issues and political and nationalistic agendas.

The TDD contextualises Tibetan identities by also using historical discourses politically validating the Tibetan position and focusing on Tibetan narratives of representation.

Chapter Two: Themes and Theoretical Concepts

This chapter contextualises the research by presenting the theoretical sociolinguistic concepts relevant to the linguistic circumstances of the TDD and the themes that contribute to the socio-cultural narratives that epitomise Tibetan identity. In the latter sections of this chapter the theoretical issues associated with the TDD's language contact situation are presented with a focus on language attitudes, ideologies and language contact.

The chapter commences with a depiction of the circumstances of the TDD which impact on the Tibetan culture and specifically Tibetan identity. While the diasporic element of the TTD is considered a prominent issue, emphasis is also placed on the narratives of representation of Tibetan culture. In particular the politicisation of the Tibetan culture influenced by a nationalist ideology and the abstractionism of the perception of Tibetan culture, associated not just with the notion of orientalism but with the political issues itself, are considered with regards to the impact these concepts have on TDD members' awareness of their identity.

Anand (2002 p1) labels a political narrative in Tibetan culture as the 'Tibet question' its meaning implicit in the association to the 'Palestine question' with the interrogative indicating 'problem.' However, Tsering Shakya (1991 p23) differentiates between the circumstances of the Tibetans and the Palestinians by asserting that the latter's are defined by political concerns while the Tibetan issue is obscured by mythology, with the irrelevance of sentimentality replacing political expediency.

2.1 Contemporary issues and present states

The turbulent existence the Tibetans have faced under Chinese rule has been clear even

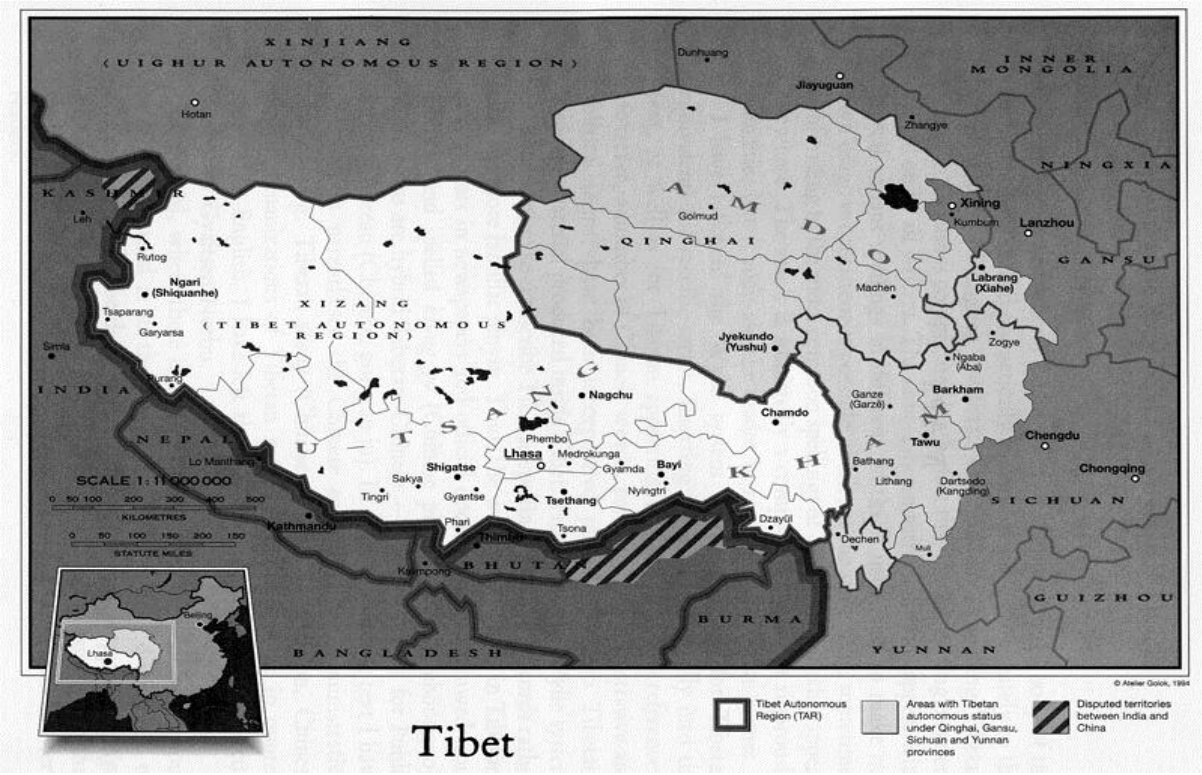
though the exact figures of the acts of repression and genocide are opaque. The Tibetan government in exile claims that more than 1.2 million Tibetans have been killed as a direct result of the Chinese occupation[22]. According to French (2000 p290) this estimate is not reliable, with a more accurate figure in his own estimation perhaps numbering [as many as] 400,000 fatalities. While Western authors generally favour estimates similar to French's, the Panchen Lama's account of 'prison deaths' in Amdo presents a terrifying perspective of events in Tibet;

"From each town and village, about 800 to 1,000 people were imprisoned. Out of this, at least 300 to 400 people of them died in prison...In [the] Golok area, many people were killed and their dead bodies were rolled down the hill into a big ditch. The soldiers told the family members and relatives of the dead people that they should all celebrate since the rebels had been wiped out. They were even forced to dance on the dead bodies. Soon after, they were also massacred with machine guns."[23]

As of the 1st of September 2012 626 Tibetan political prisoners were accounted for, yet typically charges are unclear or unspecified and families of political prisoners are not informed of these and further details regarding location and length of sentence.[24] A 2008 CTA report submitted to the UN stated that the use of torture in Tibet was widespread and routine with prisoners subjected to beating, electric shock treatment and being deprived of food and medical care.[25]

[22] http://www.freetibet.org/info/facts/fact1
[23] http://www.tibetwrites.org/ Acme of Obscenity, Monday 18 August 2008, cited by Jamyang Norbu.
[24] Congressional Executive Commission on China 2012 p166.
[25] Department of Information and International Relations, CTA 2008 p1.

Figure 2.1 Map of Tibet depicting Tibetan regions in the PRC with autonomous status overlapped with Cholka-sum labelling (Tsering Shakya 1999 pxiii)



The cultural suppression of Tibet manifests in the enforced resettlement of nomadic groups and the manipulation of the economic and educational systems which manipulates social mobility, with the majority of Tibetans employed in the agricultural sector. The monasteries and nunneries are controlled by the Chinese authorities with entry into the orders limited and monks and nuns required to attend regular 'patriotic re-education programmes'. A substantial threat to the Tibetan culture is perceived as being the mass migration of non-Tibetans to the Tibetan ethnic regions of the PRC. The PRC claim that Tibetans constitute over 95% of the population of the TAR, while the Tibetan government in exile indicates that Han Chinese people now outnumber the indigenous ones, claiming that 7.5 million Han live in what used to constitute Tibet, while the Tibetan population remains at 6 million with 2.09 million living in the TAR and the largest population density residing in Kham (Samdup 1993 p321).

Jamyang Norbu (2004 p81) expresses the view that there are two vital issues most prevalent

regarding the future of the Tibetan culture: the first concerns events such as Han migration and cultural repression, which he describes as 'the deliberate and well-planned programme of the Chinese to sinicise Tibetan language and culture'; the second regards the criticism of exiled Tibetan authorities, which he describes as 'the very static and backward-looking view of cultural preservation held by Tibetan leaders in exile.' Often the diasporic Tibetan authorities are criticised for adopting orientalist representations. On one level of analysis these representations appear fanciful, yet the essentialism provides salient political symbolism and rhetoric.

Anand (2009 p65) argues that 'specific Western conceptualisations of territoriality, practices of imperial diplomacy, and contemporary foreign policies have constructed the 'Tibet' within the 'Tibet question'. The remaining reductive elements of orientalism notwithstanding, the term 'Tibet' has receded from nation to allude to an association with a number of regions in the PRC, a political cause mired in an abyss, and the previous exiled temporal leader labelled with both defamatory political propaganda and clichéd exultant celebrity of a popular religious leader. Barnett (2008 p6) identifies the PRC's invasion of Tibet in 1950 as the primary cause of Tibet's reduced influence on its own affairs, yet the act of the Tibetan hierarchy entering into exile in 1959 proved to be the final element which removed the substantial influence and power associated with state governance which has redefined the 'Tibet question' to embody a hypothetical construct with the debates concerning the validity or direction of the Tibetan cause essentially abstract.

This concept of the abstract element of the Tibetan issue adds complexity and ambiguity. From the death of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1933 until 1959 the Tibetan authorities failed to clearly emphasise their claims for independence (Goldstein 1989 p709). Conversely, the Chinese claims of suzerainty and sovereignty despite embodying Curzon's (Viceroy of India

from 1899 – 1905) notion of a 'constitutional fiction' came to fruition.[26] Anand (2002 p6) accounts for this success by asserting that the Chinese adopted the European imperial perception of a state and the relevant diplomatic language. Jamyang Norbu (2004 p67) emphasises the orientalist third party involvement depicting the perception of events as a 'forceful interpretation of Sino-Tibetan relations in terms of European international law and praxis of [British] imperialism'. Whether the dictate of hegemony of either the unscrupulously-labelled western orientalists of the mid-twentieth century or that of the present orientalists' reluctance to empower Tibetans by implicating them in their own demise, the dilemmas of the Tibetans entering into exile remain unresolved.

Rubio (2004 p113) asserts that the most contested issue between the Chinese authorities and the diasporic Tibetan authorities is the exclusion of the Amdo and Kham regions, and thus more than half of the Tibetan territory and two thirds of the Tibetan population in the PRC, from the TAR. This attests to the diasporic Tibetan pretentions of quasi-state authority while conversely emphasising their incapacity to execute their objectives and thus renders the issue abstract. The perception of the composition of Tibet, particularly with regards to the eastern regions, has historically differed from the Western model. Typically neither the inhabitants of Kham or Amdo formed stable political ties with Lhasa or Beijing, exemplifying the non-centralised political construct of these eastern regions of Tibet while identifying culturally as Tibetan (Goldstein 1989 p46, McGranahan 2010 p40).

Nevertheless, non-adaptation to the Western state model does not deny claims for legitimate forms of state. McGranahan (2003 p268) identifies five crucial features that made the traditional Tibetan systems of statehood different from the modern European systems: local determination and sanctioning of boundaries; sovereignty and boundary not coterminous; overlapping zones between polities; no imperative for an external ratification of rules; and

[26] IOR: V Cd. 1920 [1904], p154/155.

privileging of power relationships between territory and centre over territorial integrity. The contention therefore being that Tibet in its eastern regions did not fail to exist as such but failed to conform satisfactorily to western definitions of a state and to organise adequate localised hegemony and defence against imperial Chinese encroachment.

The assertion that the 'Tibetan question' is immersed in the abstract is in direct contradiction of Said's (1978 p20) claim that the concept of orientalism is figuratively exiting in a tangible reality. If orientalism can be identified as tangible then perhaps the abstract nature of the 'Tibetan question' through its association can be presented as such. A central hypothesis of Said's (1978 p204) can be adequately captured in the statement; 'Orientalism is fundamentally a political doctrine willed over the Orient because the Orient was weaker than the West, which elided the Orient's difference with its weakness'. If it is purposed that Western state actors or international organisations are obligated in some regards to the Orient then this definition is applicable to Tibet. On the contrary if this is the case then it can be argued that this notion of reliance on other states for its own existence defines Tibet as weak regardless of perceptions of difference. Either way if the notion of orientalism can be assigned some degree of influence on the 'Tibetan question' the quagmire of the abstract becomes conceptualised.

Anand (2002 p71) emphasises three significant modes of representation in orientalism as essentialism, exoticism and stereotyping.[27] 'Within cultural studies and postcolonial theory, stereotyping is considered a basic mode of representing the Other' encapsulated in a 'one-sided description of a group/culture resulting from the collapsing of complex differences into a simple `cardboard cut-out' (Anand 2002 p76). Explicit in post-colonial theory is a hierarchical context, and an implicit imposition of subjection using a 'deviancy' label (Anand 2002 p77). Hooks (1992 p341) asserts that stereotypes thrive when distance is a factor, yet

[27] See 2.11 for exotica /mythos and 2.2.2 for essentialism.

this and the notion of hierarchy are questionable with regards to the intra-Tibet group dynamics in the TDD. While perhaps a legacy of orientalism or as vehicles for a desire to recognise the cultural items they represent, the superficial expression of stereotypical traits relating to the intra-Tibetan groups in the TDD are recognised and used by TDD members.

Nonetheless, the conceptualisation of the Tibet issue (external to the intra-Tibetan group dynamics) is fraught with problems imposed by the political elements which dictate allegiance to either of the polemics. Thus the saliency of orientalism can have a distorting effect upon application of other concepts. For example, Yangdon Dhondup (2004 p9) affiliates a perspective of her work with Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989 p2) by assigning a 'post-colonial' construct to contemporary Tibet, which is arguably an inaccurate term unless an analogy of 'Western' or 'European' colonisation.

While the previous issues discussed here and in chapter one may account for the present position of the state level actors, these issues fail to adequately present the position of the Tibetan populace. It can be argued that the democratisation of the diaspora legitimises the exiled authority's position particularly regarding PRC occupation. Further still, evidence for an occupation manifests itself in predictable, recognisable acts such as totalitarian control, mass state-run oppression, cultural destruction, lack a judicial transparency, false imprisonment, enforced abortions, state seizure of property, and genocide.[28]

Jamyang Norbu (2004 p102-103) argues that the conservatism in Dharamsala creates a schism between those critical of prominent figures and the community whereby criticism against the party line can translate as criticism of the Dalai Lama or 'insulting the Dharma'. This has systemised and to a degree homogenised the diasporic culture of preservation, yet

[28] Tibetan Centre for Human Rights and Democracy; Reassessing China's Assessment Report on National Human Rights Action Plan (2009-2010) p4, 16, 17, Tibet and the Chinese People's Republic: A Report to the International Commission of Jurists by its Legal Inquiry Committee on Tibet. Geneva: 1960, p7.

while the socio-cultural items of the diasporic culture of preservation are administered through top-down directives of the exiled authorities the TDD members assign emotional attachment to the concepts of Tibetanness that authenticate the socio-culture narratives assigned to them.

Ironically, identifying as Tibetan through these narratives contributes to the cultural chasm between those living in exile and those in Tibet. Tsering Shakya (2009 p215) draws attention to the 'huge social and cultural gap' between Tibetans in India and those in the PRC. 'Even when the two communities meet in the West, there is often little interaction between them. The exiles in India see themselves as the "true" representatives of Tibetanness, and the Tibetans inside as merely passive, oppressed victims' (Tsering Shakya 2009 p215). While the TDD accounts for less than ten percent of the whole diaspora it does provide evidence to suggest that Tsering Shakya's dichotomy is not absolute as, at present, there are a substantial number of Tibetans from Tibet that reside in the TDD. Issues regarding cohesion between 'Sanjos' and 'Shejaks' echo Tsering Shekya's sentiments yet the setting, even though diasporic, is perceived as Tibetan, and therefore shared among all intra-Tibetan groups.

Furthermore, the proximity of these multiple intra-Tibetan groups enables the element of difference to be accommodated within the Tibetan identity construct possibly supported by the presence of Indian and foreign 'others' in a transient capacity. Rubio (2004 p13) asserts that 'the experience of displacement has intensified territorial consciousness among Tibetan refugees.' Therefore these concepts of intra-group acceptance and intensified territorial consciousness help address the saliency of the Cholka-sum identity construct. Rubio (2004 p13) equals the displacement of the Tibetan refugee to Malkki's (1996 p444) assertion of an 'ailing cultural identity and a damaged nationality' dictating the survival strategy that requires a rapid return to the homeland. However, abstractionism and politicisation of the 'Tibet question' allow for the acceptance of suppositions such as Papastergiadis' (2000 p115)

deterritorialisation of culture which support Rubio and Malkki's sentiments yet emphasise the importance of cultural construction in the vacuum of the TDD without notions of application or sustainability; 'the authenticity of a cultural formation is no longer singularly linked to its physical proximity to a given cultural centre' (Papastergiadis 2000 p116). The deterritorialisation of culture may provide an eloquent appraisal of contemporary culture, yet it is no guarantee of the retention of a Tibetan culture.

2.1.1 Imaging Tibet

While "post-colonial" European views could still occupy as polemic a position as their colonial counterparts from Lopez's (1995 p266) description of Tibetan Buddhism's 'salvific powers in the modern world' to Lalou's 'blood and poison' description of the 'milieu' of the Bon religion (Lalou (1957 p12); cited by Kvaerne 2001 p51), the general direction in contemporary Western research on Tibet, even on the religious aspects, is a far less excitable one.

Tsering Shakya (2009 p110) identifies the notion that in contemporary Tibetan culture 'religious faith is closely associated with ethnic identity and nationalism.' This establishes a perception of Tibetan culture, by Tibetan, Chinese and Western commentators alike, which implicitly connects the practice of faith and the contemporary Tibetan Buddhist establishment with historical, politicised discourses of the Tibet issue, which are often perceived as marred on some level of analysis due to the orientalist expression.

European Christian missionaries almost monopolised the early European interaction with the Tibetans. Their religious-based views focused on the saliency of the Buddhist cult in Tibet. While missionary encounters with the neighbouring Hindu and Muslim cultures produced

observations of difference, the belief that the Tibetans obtained similar or shared practices or rituals as in Christian Europe defined them as an 'intimate unknown' and a 'foreign brother' to the Europeans; thus the intrigue in a paradox was created which generated the Tibetan myth appeal (Dider 1988-92 p43-144; cited by Kaschewsky 2001 p7). However in conjunction with these affable declarations the Jesuit and Capuchin missionaries still perceived the Tibetan culture with religious intolerance, theological arrogance and cultural chauvinism that inevitably produced notions of the Tibetans as barbaric and uncivilised (Rubio 2004 p214). In either case the diasporic Tibetan culture of the TDD, motivated by cultural, political or perhaps financial gains provides an agency for the reproduction of symbols which could be identified as overly-simplistic such as myth appeal, exotic other, or political injustice.

The conceptualisation of mythicism engulfing representation has been most succinctly encapsulated by Lopez's (1998 p13) assertion that 'Tibetans, Tibetophiles, and Tibetologists' are prisoners of Shangri-La; a mythic, romanticised cell of the superficial yet absolute stereotyping of the Tibetan culture. Lopez (1998 p10) argues that Tibet's complexities and competing histories have been 'flattened' by myth appeal. Bishop (1989) asserts that this 'Shangri-La concept' is prevalent in Tibetan studies, yet it is often the case that defining the myth appeal concept involves strongly emphasising the orientalist element as well as that of the essentialist and exotic other aspects such as in what Rubio (2004 p213) refers to as 'mythos Tibet' and Anand (2002 p167) 'exotica Tibet'.

McKay (2001 p82) identifies James Hilton's *Lost Horizon* as providing 'much of the 'Shangri-La' image associated with Tibet' albeit without the author having ever visited Tibet. Therefore the failure to appropriately label the reductive fictional works of Western writers not only assists in propelling the concept of Tibet into western popular culture but replaces Tibetan cultural imagery for the inaccurate when these concepts are perceived to be directly

associated with Tibet, which it must do on some level to intensify the concept so as to appear authentically mythical.

Bishop (2001 p202) summarises these issues stating that Tibet is 'a fantasy about a fantasy', yet contradictorily argues that post-second world war Western perception and production of Tibetan concepts had generally maintained an 'ambivalence towards Tibetan culture, generally refusing to characterise it either as a utopia or as a simple answer to Western problems and anxieties' (Bishop 2001 p220). Barnett (2001 p294) challenges the validity of this latter pronouncement and the effects of writers such as Bishop on the issue of Tibetan culture stating that in reality a 'misrepresentation representation' was produced whereby content reflected the 'perceptiveness' of the author as opposed to the 'perception of a place or a people.'

As the Tibetan issue became 'internationalised' in the 1980s the imagery of Tibet and the Tibetan culture becomes politicised, with the mystical Tibetan construct not only validating the importance of Tibetan culture but emphasising the gravity of the cultural destruction. Barnett (2001 p304) recognises the agency of the Tibetan leadership in Dharamsala and other Tibetans in the deployment of images of Tibet in Western political discourse, yet these items representing an orientalist image of Tibet 'failed to establish an image of Tibet fully consistent with the Tibetans' self-image' (McKay 2001 p85). McKay (2001 p85) refers to the CTA as relying on historical images of Tibet originating from British Indian sources and therefore appearing 'incomplete' to Tibetans, yet 'the mystical image of Tibet survives today to a large extent because it serves Tibetan interests in that it emphasises the separate and unique nature of Tibetan civilisation'. Rubio (2004 p213) concurs with McKay emphasising the political objects in exiled authorities' motivations in constructing a national historical narrative yet recognising the displacement involved of more authentic cultural items through adoption of western 'mythos' constructs.

Lopez (1998 p181) and Schell (2000 p245) concede that the Western, modern Shangri-La concept is 'probably inspired' by the indigenous Tibetan Shambhala myth or a 'distillation' of borrowing from Tibetan mythology. The westernisation of the initial developments of post-industrial globalism have dominated the cross-cultural experiences still existing in the present in concepts such as communism in China or orientalism in the "Orient", yet the superficial labelling of others, regardless of the labelling of that labelling appears as universal as the attraction to mythology. While the application of orientalism retrospectively on history backdated to ancient Greece provides interesting interpretations it would also appear apt to apply post-modernism to the theoretical absolutism of orientalism. Without detracting any worth from the central themes of essentialism and stereotyping should commentators not also identify additional themes in conjunction to these acknowledged ones, or seek to reappraise the superficiality of the accepted opinions on alternative levels of analysis?

The popularisation of the Tibetan culture to the Chinese is resolutely presented as apolitical yet similar to Tibetan diaspora and Western stereotypes in presenting Tibet in mystical imagery, having retained cultural characteristics and traditions lost in China (Tsering Shakya 2009 p202). In the contemporary arena a Chinese version of the western Shangri-La concept, which Wang (2009 p137) refers to as 'Tibetan fever', is in stark contrast to CCP policies and propaganda, yet social complexity allows for apparent examples of cultural cognitive dissonance. Tsering Shakya (2009 p91) dismisses the idea that Chinese intellectuals could be objective and reasonable regarding the Tibet issue considering that 'their perception is impaired by racial prejudice and their imagination clouded by the convictions and certainties of all colonial masters'. Heberer (2001 p134) asserts that even under communist rule the Han retained their traditional position of superiority compared to other 'national minorities': 'Even today school students learn that ethnic minorities are economically and culturally more backward than the Han.'

It is perhaps predicable that the non-Han backward barbarian also possesses a romanticised 'savage other' in Chinese culture as this typifies an element of cross cultural experience. Even though superficial, the effects of these labels can be profound. Heberer (2001 p113) recognises that the 'traditional ethnocentric notions dominate the pattern of behaviour towards non-Han people' facilitating a culture of inferiority, while Tsering Shakya (2009 p262) views the Chinese hegemony as reducing the Tibetan people to 'a primitive state.'

In what Jamyang Norbu (2004 p38) describes as 'cycles of terror' he dismisses the notion that the Cultural Revolution and the Tiananmen Massacre are separate, extreme events but part of a continuous narrative of control of the CCP. 'Large scale massacres commenced right from 1949, with the 'Land Reforms' after which came the 'Suppression of Counter Revolutionaries' campaign in 1950, the 'Three Antis' (*san fan*), and the 'Five Antis' (*wu fan*) campaigns from 1949 to 1952, the Sufan purges in 1955, the 'Anti-rightist' campaigns in 1957, the aftermath of the Hundred Flowers campaign, the Great Leap Forward and the establishment of communes in 1958, the Cultural Revolution (1966-76), the 'Anti-Lin Biao and Anti-Confucius' campaign (1973-75), the campaign for the denunciation of the 'Gang of Four' (1976-78), and so on, all of which entailed the killing of tens, even hundreds of thousands of people' (Jamyang Norbu 2004 p38-39). If Jamyang Norbu's argument is credible then the Tibetan inhabitants of the PRC are evidently subjugated by an imperialist Chinese authority. However, credible or not this narrative of genocide functions as a strategic element in the diasporic culture of preservation validating the Tibetan cause politically and morally.

The diasporic Tibetan culture may forge ideal representations of the homeland that are resonant with the mystical fantasies of European colonialists due to a shared separation from the subject, yet other fantastical notions may appear more deceptive than misrepresentative. Peaceful and non-violent descriptions of Tibetans originating from the diaspora are

'politicised notions of Tibetan culture and identity' that are 'unprecedented and distinctly modern' that is a reaction to exile rather than colonisation (Huber 2001 p357). This concept enthrals the Tibetan people in exile to believe that a policy that emphasises the need to seek protection and assistance from others is viable.

Particular to the TDD (but not exclusively) is the significant presence of foreign tourists. Whether pursuing a Buddhist enquiry or offering volunteer services, the foreign tourists' actions are most accurately defined as leisure activities. The superficiality of their behaviour is a salient feature of their contact with the TDD, presenting members of the TDD with a singular identity of foreigners which is iconised to facilitate the notion that the Western population of the world offer vague yet sympathetic and vocalised support. Regardless of sincerity the Tibetan issue to tourists in the TDD inevitably remains a touristic enterprise and thus a superficial experience. Therefore this foreign audience becomes a catalyst which popularises the Tibetan issue while conversely devaluing it. Jamyang Norbu (2004 p96) bemoans the unintentional effect of Western interest in Tibetan culture labelling the effect as a 'New Aging' of Tibetan culture 'where beliefs and mysteries that once gave beauty and power to ritual and art, are in real danger of becoming enfeebled and trivialised because of commercialisation, excessive exposure and the unrelenting demand of modern society for entertainment and novelty.' Wood (1998 p222) concurs asserting that tourism creates motives which dictate aspects of ethnic identities and the ethnic symbols of membership and culture, yet this statement could be as representative of a member of the TDD as a foreign tourist in Dharamsala. The cross-cultural circumstances may produce salient elements which allow TDD members to be trivialised and foreign tourists labelled as reductively superficial yet it does not dictate that these labels are definitive in the absolute.

Kvaerne (2001 p63) argues that 'perhaps the uniqueness and dignity of the individual is compromised not only by focusing on abstractions like 'progress', 'profit', and 'stability' but

also on ‘nation’, culture’, ‘religion’, and ‘rights’; a prevalent feature of the Tibet issue is that of abstraction, yet of pejorative notions of propaganda and romanticised imagery. Nonetheless to deny the impact and significance that these concepts have is inappropriate considering the circumstances of the Tibetan people both in Tibet and the diaspora. Anand (2002 p57) asserts that the Tibetans are labelled as victims of ‘Chinese brutality or of Western exoticisation’ with this victimisation paradigm denying ‘appreciation of their agency’ while their identity is ‘depoliticised’, yet conversely acceptance of these assertions in the absolute is a validation as it denies genuine acts of protest and political and cultural endeavour.

2.1.2 Diaspora as culture

Rubio (2004 p31) depicts the post-WWII construct of the refugee as captured in a ‘state of liminality’ yet describes the Tibetan diaspora as both refugees and voluntary migrants. The voluntary migrant label may be ineffective in defining the motives of Tibetans who enter into exile, yet it adds to the conceptualisation of displacement in such narratives as ‘liminality’ by depicting exile as a possible chosen destination or as sanctuary. The homeland and exile represent numerous polemic and conflicting opinions for the Tibetan diaspora. Tibetanness in the diaspora is defined by the Tibet issue with the Dalai Lama symbolising the diasporic cause, yet conversely the institution of the Dalai Lama provides a means of ‘keeping a strong attachment to a ‘homeland’ and maintaining a distinctive profile within the host country’ (Bradatan, Popan, Melton 2010 p173). Therefore, the abstract nature of the Tibetan Issue and the diasporic circumstances provide limited opinions in realpolitik, yet limitless hypothetical positions, which supplies examples of the agenda Anand suggests should be focused on.

Bradatan, Popan, Melton (2010 p174) use the acquisition of the host language while maintaining the 'origin' language as an indicator of a transnational identity as an alternative to the diaspora/assimilation dichotomy. Perhaps the retaining of 'origin' language and culture fits the Indian host model as regardless of the Hinduisation of the nation it is incredibly diverse with the 1991 census recording over 1576 'mother tongues'.[29] However considering the particular circumstances of the Tibetan Issue and that the vast majority of Tibetans (approximately 97%: see footnote 10 on page 39) still reside in the homeland the diasporic nature of the community appears salient. For example, the diasporic culture of preservation may reflect the political, orientalist, mythical, romanticised concepts previously discussed but nonetheless is a mode of expression and a narrative of being Tibetan used in the TDD by a group motivated to maintain a socio-cultural exclusivity. Young (1995 p4) asserts that a 'fixity of identity is only sought in situations of instability and disruption, of conflict and change'. The notion of identity fixity due to the arrival of social change is a paradox which becomes an issue to be aware of at a community level, yet is no doubt an accurate assessment of the personal expressions of community members.

Yangdon Dhondup (2004 p224) states that the cultural conservatism of the exiled Tibetans initially 'ossified' the diasporic culture before a period of 'inertia', which Clifford (1988 p11) depicts as lacking 'acts of purity.' Anand (2002 p200) highlights the motives for the diasporic culture of preservation stating that 'the acute fear that Tibetan culture would become extinct in its homeland underlines the predominance of a 'salvage mentality', a preservation ethos in the Tibetan diaspora', asserting that the diasporic culture of preservation provides 'legitimacy to the diaspora's claim to be a true representative of Tibet, the custodian of an endangered culture.' However, in conjunction with these socio-cultural and top-down motives this research asserts that these community narratives are available representations of TDD

[29] Census of India 1991.

member's anxieties, experiences and emotions regarding issues of instability and displacement.

The diasporic culture of preservation depicts a culture more than a process. This objectification by the diaspora inescapably absorbs the clichéd, non-Tibetan perspectives and the visions of those in the role of cultural construction of self with this bias echoing Tibetan myth, exotica and romancification.

'Without belittling these attempts at maintaining distinctive traditions of creative and artistic expression, at a theoretical level, this over-emphasis on preservation should also be seen as being conceptually problematic because it takes a sanitised view of what culture means. Culture is seen as a thing out there that can be identified, mapped, practised, and preserved. Such a conceptualisation of culture essentialises and naturalises what is socially and politically constructed and contested' (Anand 2002 p205).

Regardless of the diasporic culture of preservation absolute fixity is impossible, and possibly irrelevant in certain circumstances. While the Sanjos residing in the TDD conform to many social norms dictated by diasporic authorities and antiquated hegemonies, they are also indomitable living representations of the homeland and the Tibetan culture glorified in the diasporic culture of preservation.

Arguably the most significant catalyst of change in the TDD is the transiency of the population exemplified in the arrival of the Sanjos in the 1980s and 1990s. A perception of their sinification reasserted the diasporic community's notion of their own cultural purity with the majority of exiled Shejak Tibetans 'disdainfully' viewing the Sanjos arrival in the TDD (Yangdon Dhondup 2004 p225). The acerbic reaction of the Shejak Tibetans does not deny 'other' Tibetans assimilation and incorporation to the Tibetan diaspora which is significant enough to redefine diasporic culture and identity. Anand (2002 p194/200) asserts

that Dharamsala 'plays a very crucial role as a symbolic nerve centre from which articulations of Tibetanness emerge […] the maintenance of Tibetan identity is seen as a functional expression of this culture'. Therefore the diasporic culture of preservation in the TDD would fail to be representative if ossified. The Sanjo influx has transformed the diasporic culture into one which assigns status to a diverse number of groups and varieties of language based on the recognition of a commonality in the exclusive Tibetan membership.

2.2 The issues and theories of identity

Assertions of identity often emphasise specific identity features such as 'cultural', or 'gender'. Predominant identity features in conjunction with each other are useful in defining the concept of identity as a whole;

"Identity is used by individuals and groups to define themselves and be defined by others particularly using concepts such as race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture" (Deng 1995 p1).

Both the notions of group perception and the categories of race *et al* evoke Aristotle's (Book 1, section 1253a) sentiment that humans are social animals, and it is with this notion in mind that this research approaches the subject matter. TDD members' identities are no doubt conceptualised and expressed on multiple levels, which is as ubiquitous as it is apparent. However this research particularly focuses on the socio-cultural features associated with place of birth which, through the diasporic culture of preservation, have become salient to members due to the extent to which these cultural items are used in narratives of representation. While the diasporic circumstances emphasise the politicisation of "cultural identities" such as the Cholka-sum categories of Utsang, Kham and Amdo, TDD members define their identity using these cultural items on more intimate levels of association. To

conceptualise pan-Tibetan and regional identities in abstract representations the terrestrial concept of boundary not only signifies the exclusivity of the regional categorisation but of TDD members' absence from the homeland encapsulating the idea that 'coherent identity incorporates within itself all the various internalised roles and attitudes' (Berger and Luckmann 1966 p132).

The distinct awareness TDD members have of their cultural identities and the significance of the role of representation are key features of the exilic Tibetan identity. Anand (2002 p208) asserts that there are a further six predominant concepts relating to the contextualisation of Tibetan identity; 'roots and routes of culture are complementary, identity is discursively produced, Exotica Tibet plays a productive role, the Dalai Lama's role is vital, an image of the `homeland' is crucial, and finally, Tibet is a re-imag(in)ing construct.' An amalgamation of TDD members' awareness and the significance of representation (socio-political features) in conjunction with these six points (de-politicised features) neutralises a specific contention by presenting relevant issues available for the application of numerous perspectives.

This not only allows for abstractionism in the discussion of the Tibet issue but conversely validates any number of perspectives providing that they are expressed with the understanding that they are part of a pluralistic paradigm. For example, a Tibetan may be proud of his or her roots, but may also associate them with displacement and anxiety, while the opposite may be the case regarding their 'routes'. Identity may be discursively produced or not, Exotica Tibet productive and damaging, authentic and clichéd, and so forth.

Pluralisation is a feature therefore not only in the intra-Tibetan group dynamics but also in creating a format which can accommodate the numerous and alternate perspectives that define Tibetanness. The research proposes two further features which are also salient; the first, pan-Tibetan identity, the second is the concept of 'other'. Rubio (2004 p133) asserts that the

notion of pan-Tibetan extends for the exiled authorities and that 'by conducting the social and political exercise of imagining the Tibetan nation, and advancing claims for statehood, Tibetan leaders have transformed Tibet into a symbolic space and constructed a narrative of Tibetanness' expressed in the term 'One People, One Territory' principle.' This does not deny the notion that pre-modern, pre-politicised, pre-diaspora homogenous Tibetanness is relevant to contemporary cultural or ethnic discourses but emphasises the present nationalistic framework. The saliency of the expressions of Tibetanness in the diaspora is of particular interest. The political themes of Tibetanness are apparent, however pan-Tibetan and intra-Tibetan group identities function as "positive" representations replacing or distracting from possible "negative" non-Tibetan diasporic identities.

The perceived threat to Tibetanness in the nationalistic homogenous narratives by factionalism exists in the TDD, yet Rubio (2004 p137) indicates that the Tibetan authorities in the diaspora 'have contributed to the strengthening of regional identities that in practice contradict the Pan-Tibet discourse.' These regional Tibetan identities are authentic representations, yet are also useful to the diasporic authorities in validating external ethnic Tibetan boundaries, which supports their territorial claims. The pluralism of the multiple intra-Tibetan groups and the homogenous Tibetan identity produce an awareness of the concept of 'other'. 'Other' plays a key role in the dynamics of Tibetan identity both internally and in relation to that of the occupiers, the host nation, and being the 'other' in colonial or orientalist narratives. The 'other' in inter-Tibetan group dynamics differentiates from non-Tibetan other as intra-Tibetan groups are also defined by the exclusivity of Tibetan membership.

In the PRC minorities use the national identity in constructing their own ethnic identities in 'contradistinction of the majority other' (Hillman and Henfry 2006 p251). This conceptualisation of identity construction implies the triviality of ethnic association through

common decent, yet an emphasis on an association depicting historical socio-lineage is a powerful analogy even if viewed as a 'subjective belief' (in common descent). This signifies that 'identity does not draw its sustenance from chronological/factual history but from sentient/felt history' (Connor 2004 p45). Therefore it emerges that these concepts indicate agreement with Barth's (1969 p14) notion that ethnicity could be a discursive construct and not an immutable fact.

Rubio (2004 p 36) signifies that pre-politicisation of Tibetan ethnicity by the Chinese occupation 'other' was associated to 'non-believer' of Buddhism. However, post-1959 the 'other' identity morphed into 'Chinese' or 'Han Chinese' (Dawa Norbu 1992 p10). Anand (2002 p42) asserts that conceptualising other in cross-cultural experiences indexes content and meaning that are products of historical specificity within the modern era. 'Production of knowledge about the other goes hand in hand with the construction, articulation, and affirmation of differences between the self and other, which in turn feeds into the politics of identification' (Anand 2002 p42). Foucault (1984 p7) dissects the perception of other into differentiation and classification strategies. Differentiation extends from an individual and a group's desire to express their own identity in conjunction with that of others', while classification imposes and assigns the identity of other.

The primordialist perspective of ethnicity, whether of self or other, focuses on the cultural objectivity of ethnic identity; yet while perhaps irrelevant, this requisite to clarify difference is a clear indication of how important it is to do so. Connor (2004 p25) defines the concept of national identity as being essentially originating from members' perception thus; 'a nation is a self-differentiating group.' While this model may indicate a valid psychological element it appears to neglect the imposition of society's assumed concepts and the generational transfer. While an individual's perception may be the point of realisation, the concept of nation or any identity construct is one defined by the appearance of a constant, rarely exchangeable state of

being. Social evolution may indeed be fluid, transient, or perhaps, developing, yet it requires a countermeasure of social conservatism to maintain, re-establish and value social norms which accounts for, in part, the resilience of identity (Skutnabb-Kangas 2010 p199). Nevertheless, perhaps with a focus on occasions which emphasis necessity Dorian (2010 p89) argues the contrary, believing people's identity to be more fluid and that 'people will redefine themselves when circumstances make it desirable or force it on them.'

The constructionist perspective on identity in the field of sociolinguistics is able to use language to emphasise the present beliefs in contrast to the unalterable permanence of essentialist notions of identity being an item to be possessed. Joseph (2010 p14) concludes therefore that the constructionist's identity is one embodied in performance. Skutnabb-Kangas (2010 p199) concurs stating that ethnicity, identity and even a speaker's mother tongue cannot be treated as commodities, but are changeable and open to influence. However, regardless of a linguistic variety's disposition to influence, Fishman (1976 p176) highlights the importance of a Low variety as a symbol of a group's identity. Garrett (2005 p64) relates Fishman's assertion regarding low variety maintenance to the concept of covert prestige, noting that the persistence of low prestige varieties can be aided by such concepts as solidarity through shared identity associations.

Culture-specific abstract concepts are perceived to be notoriously difficult to express sufficiently in a non-associated linguistic variety. Grammatical categories or discourse-marking devices that do not have a match can make what is supposed to be identical text seem dissimilar in two different varieties (Dorian 2010 p96). Kipuri (2009 p57) claims that language is an important component of an individual's identity as 'it is fundamental to understanding values, beliefs, ideology and other intangible aspects of culture', yet this belief is not universal. Dorian (2010 p99) highlights the cultural transmission function of language as unique, yet as an identity marker language can be replaced by other specific ethnic

behaviours, such as wearing items of traditional dress or preparing or consuming traditional cuisine. Nonetheless, the present clichéd assumption decisive within sociolinguistics and the zeitgeist is that the sounds uttered in speaking a particular variety are not only 'distinctive to the ear but are also distinctive in the meanings they encode, and the link between ethnic group and ethnic language becomes unique and vital at this level' (Dorian 2010 p99). This view highlights the value placed on the exclusivity of group membership.

The awareness of assigning value to the Tibetan culture in the TDD indicates that identity is not simply the source of culture but an outcome of culture, or a cultural effect. Language, as a fundamental resource for cultural (re)production, is also a fundamental resource for identity production (Bucholtz and Hall 2004 p382). Nonetheless, Coulmas (2005 p173) suggests that 'if, indeed, language expresses identity, individual and collective, then, given the elusiveness of a language and its native speakers, identity, too, must be a rather murky notion.' Even though Fishman (2004 p83) has expressed concern that present Western social science has too readily accepted a constructivist perspective without adequate consideration, a particular focus of research in language and identity centres on 'how speakers use language to construct social difference, for example constructing their own personal and social identities, or constructing particular qualities of social relationships' (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p341). However opaque constructionism allows for pluralism, self-definition, and fluidity in identity.

The identity of a speaker of a particular variety inevitably has a concomitant of language attitudes. A speaker makes choices influenced by the domain, the possible interlocutors within the domain and the ways in which the speaker chooses to communicate founded on decisions of how he/she would wish to be perceived. Ochs (2009 p412) states that 'every social interaction has the potential for both cultural persistence and change, and past and future are manifest in the interactional present.' It is important to acknowledge a vast multi-layered construct of perception where any number of perspectives can be retrieved or

disregarded at will regarding the judgement of others and ourselves. It must also be recognised that an opinion may also originate from our socialisation whether on a conscious or unconscious level.

Cultural items discernible by their perceived importance have been defined and labelled extensively; DuBois (1936) 'dominant values', Albert (1956) 'focal values', Turner (1967) 'dominant symbols', Schneider (1968) 'core symbols', Ortner (1973) 'key symbols', and the reiteration of Smolicz's (1981) terminology by Conversi (1990) 'core values'. Smolicz's (1988 p394) 'distinctive cultural communities' perhaps best conveys Ortner's (1973 p1338) précis of defining cultural items as clichéd. Cultural items of perceived importance may require certain instances of subjugation to function as a catalyst to make them salient to the members of the group (Dorian 2010 p90). Conversi (1990 p52) emphasises in particular periods of oppression or foreign domination which allow these 'core values' to become more pronounced. Therefore the diasporic culture of preservation is again linked to essentialism and stereotyping, and that the diasporic perspective of culture is not in a vacuum.

Ortner (1973 p1339) formulates a five-element index to establish to what extent cultural items are key symbols:

1. The natives tell us that X is culturally important.
2. The natives seem positively or negatively aroused about X, rather than indifferent.
3. X comes up in many different contexts. These contexts may be behavioural or systemic: X comes up in many different kinds of action situation or conversation, or X comes up in many different symbolic domains (myth, ritual, art, formal rhetoric, etc).
4. There is greater cultural elaboration surrounding X, e.g., elaboration of vocabulary, or elaboration of details of X's nature, compared with similar phenomena in the culture.

5. There are greater cultural restrictions surrounding X, either in sheer number of rules, or severity of sanctions regarding its misuse.

Ortner (1973 p1339) states that if an item can be defined using the above index then it can also be classified as to the reasons why the item is a key symbol to that culture and labelled either as a 'summarising' or 'elaborating' symbol. Summarising symbols are those that are seen as 'summing up, expressing, representing for the participants in an emotionally powerful and relatively undifferentiated way, what the system means to them' (Ortner 1973 p1339). Elaborating symbols function in an opposing manner, acting as conveyors for 'complex and undifferentiated feelings and ideas, making them comprehensible to oneself, communicable to others, and translatable into orderly action' (Ortner 1973 p1340). Ortner (1973 p1340) emphasises that the elaborating symbols are 'accorded central status in the culture on the basis of their capacity to order experience; they are essentially analytic.' However authentic elaborating symbols are not objectivity and it may be problematic to depict them as both 'complex' and 'communicable'.

Conversi (1990 p52, 1993 p189) argues that the most universal identity marker in the contemporary world is language stating that it is an overt, tangible characteristic, which is comparatively straightforward to define, and language can effectively and relatively easily act as a boundary marker, clearly differentiating people, providing an emotional thread to ones' ancestors: 'the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology' (Fishman, 1977 p25). Conversi (1995 p191) suggests that language is the most reliable and efficient cultural core value, and furthermore where this is not the case groups are found to have severely debilitating problems choosing alternatives.

2.2.1 The concept of nationalism

Smith (1998 p22) highlights the variations of categorising a nation from depictions of a completely modern enterprise consciously created by its members and elites and ultimately a 'territorialised political community' to a primordialist approach describing a nation as an ethno-cultural community, based upon common ancestry and thus identified as 'authentic' and therefore is 'persistent and immemorial.' Gellner (1983 p138) associates the rise of nationalism with industrialisation, citing in particular the concepts of cultural homogeneity and literacy, stating that 'nationalism is a very distinctive species of patriotism, and one which becomes pervasive and dominant only under certain social conditions, which in fact prevail in the modern world.' This is disputed by Kedourie (1960 p1) who depicts nationalism as a European, contingent, ideological accident. According to Joseph (2004 p114) Kedourie was critical of Gellner's concept of language as the ancestral unifier, but rather 'just one of several ideological sites within nationalist rhetoric', which could be manipulated within a constructionist discourse of national identity. Anderson (1991 p43) asserts that language is a key element of nationalism, but suggests a nation is an 'imagined political community' with monoglot mass reading publics. For Anderson (1991 p44) the printing press is crucial, with capitalist-inspired pragmatic print-languages forming 'the bases for national consciousnesses.'

Smith (1991 p11) depicts Western national identity being founded on 'common historical memories, myth, symbols and tradition' and Asian national identity predominately founded on an 'ethnic' model. It would seem intuitive to suppose that all of these discourses would be available to national and non-national groups to articulate and use in the construction of a national identity if a population adhered to Gellner's (1997 p57) voluntaristic inclusion.

‘Membership to the PRC was defined by participation in a revolutionary ritual order that embodied allegiance to a communist ethos based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and centred on Mao Zedong himself’ (Rubio 2004 p104). Arguments can be made that Tibetans have both conformed to and rebelled against these conventions. However, ‘Tibetan ethnic and national identity in exile is still largely articulated in territorial terms’ (Rubio 2004 p211). The territorial association to a homogenous ethnic Tibetan identity does not reflect the variety of state formations which historically structured the Tibetan region (Samuel 1993 p39). Goldstein (1994 p87) asserts that the Tibetan authorities which would enter into exile did not accept the loss of Kham and Amdo in 1949, yet neither did they react appropriately to the circumstances of foreign occupation. In the diaspora the narrative of a 1949 invasion (as opposed to 1950) is expressed, yet excluding the Tibetan authorities’ role as it indicates weak nation-state status.

Calhoun (1993 p227) argues that there is a consensus among the most prominent twentieth-century analysts of nationalism that the nation is of modern origin, with Smith (1996 p216) asserting the existence of an inherent link with national identity originating from ethnic origins. This concept of ethno-history as one which ‘represents an amalgam of selective historical truth and idealisation, with varying degrees of documented fact and political myth, stressing elements of romance, heroism and the unique, to present a stirring and emotionally intimate portrait of the community's history’ (Smith, 1995 p63). Connor’s (2004 p37) definition defers little, depicting ethno-history to an ‘accoutrement’ of the nation contributing ‘to the feeling of common ancestry’ and ‘the sense of uniqueness' (Connor 2004 p43). Therefore historical narratives are able to provide a ‘seal of authentication’ according to Malesevie (2006 p120), which validates present national or ethnic sentiment regarding group identity.

2.2.2 The Sapir-Whorf hypotheses

A strong element of the theoretical understanding of language and culture originates from the Sapir-Whorf hypotheses. These hypotheses presently receive both criticism and praise having previously proceeded through a cycle of acclaim and rejection. Here the plural is used, representing both present favoured and redundant positions in line with Fishman's (1982 p1) assessment which identifies the predominantly Whorfian hypotheses of linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism, yet it is Sapir's much cited quote which depicts a universal worth upon all linguistic varieties at a time in the 20th century when European cultural and linguistic hegemony was a dominant, singular narrative in the majority of cross-cultural experiences; which Lucy (1997 p294) positions as being parallel with the jingoistic and ethnocentric anthropology of the 19th century.

"Both simple and complex types of language of an indefinite number of varieties may be found spoken at any desired level of cultural advance. When it comes to linguistic form, Plato walks with the Macedonian swineherd, Confucius with the headhunting savage of Assam" (Sapir 1921 p219).

Brown (1976 p128) proposes two succinct definitions for Whorf's hypotheses where linguistic relativity is described as 'structural differences between language systems that will, in general, be paralleled by non-linguistic cognitive differences, of an unspecified sort, in the native speakers of the two languages', and linguistic determinism as 'the structure of anyone's native language that strongly influences or fully determines the world view he will acquire as he learns the language.' Kay (1984 p66) develops these points stating that if the dependent variables of linguistic relativity and linguistic determinism's non-linguistic cognitive differences are substantial, then perhaps the independent variable of language may also be significant, producing an implicit third hypothesis that 'the semantic systems of

different languages vary without constraint', which through empirical experiment Kay refutes (see Kay and McDaniel 1978).

While neither Sapir nor Whorf articulated immoderate opinion regarding their work linguistic determinism perceived in what Lucy (1997 p295) depicts as a 'strong' form equates to defining the structural influence of a linguistic variety effecting such control over the individual as to dictate and constrain all aspects of thought (Fishman 1980 p26). In contrast, a 'weaker' form presents a linguistic variety as being associated with a particular culture, providing an individual with abilities to enhance their understanding of that particular culture's cultural items, be it linguistic or non-linguistic (Fishman 1980 p30). Pinker (1994 p67) surmises the present conventional thought on the subject describing linguistic determinism as a 'conventional absurdity, yet despite the broad acceptance that extreme linguistic determinism has been discredited, linguistic relativity and the influence of language upon perception, cognition and memory has yet to be disproved.' The Sapir-Whorf hypotheses promote the notion that language helps structure the phenomenological realm. An important distinction regarding perception, especially in connection to language attitudes, is indicted by Searle (1970) who identifies an ambiguity in perception. Using discursive indexation of aspects relating to identity may result in a distinction between an illocutionary act and a perlocutionary act based on how each party contextualises the situation (Searle 1970). Austin (1962) argues that performatives as verbal predicates can determine social action, specifically the negotiation of turn taking structure in future interactions.

Criticism levelled at the Sapir-Whorf hypotheses and identity research can involve the accusation of essentialism, a theoretical position that maintains that those who occupy an identity category are both fundamentally similar to one another and fundamentally different from members of other groups (Bucholtz and Hall 2004 p374). However, it can be argued that contemporary perceptions of identity may be indefinable, as the complex and dynamic

nature of identity constructs allow for negotiation and re-negotiation according to circumstances (Joseph 2010 p14). Joseph (2010 p90) suggests that 'the methodological ideal is therefore to strive for the intellectual rigour of essentialist analysis without falling into the trap of believing in the absoluteness of its categories, and to maintain the dynamic and individualistic focus of constructionism while avoiding the trap of empty relativism.' 'Anti-essentialists, informed by poststructuralist and postmodern theories, rightly implicate essentialism in the representation of the 'other' and the perpetuation of dominance' (Anand 2002 p73). However, 'forms of essentialism are integral and unavoidable even for social constructionism, and therefore, the essentialist/constructionist binary is misleading' (Anand 2002 p74). As is the case with the other aspects Anand highlights aspects of orientalism such as the exotic and stereotype essentialism features in the expressions of representation by members of the TDD, which (on a certain level of analysis) empower the Tibetan diaspora in recognisable expressions.

2.3 Language attitudes

In its most basic concept attitude can be defined as a 'disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution or event' (Ajzen, 2005 p4), yet the ambiguity of this generalisation must be contextualised by highlighting that in practice multiple perceptions conceive numerous interpretations, emphasised by Baker's (1992 p11) concept of 'semantic disagreement' as well as the realisation that attitudes are latent, often elusive and involve a process where they must be inferred (Garrett *et al* 2003 p2).

The attitudes speakers have towards the varieties of language that they use or come into contact with contribute to the persistence, shift and maintenance of languages. Language attitudes are not only reflected in how a variety is perceived and even the identity of the

speakers who use it, but are also involved in the processes in the choices speakers make (Richards and Schmidt 2003 p286). Giles and Coupland (1991 p59) dispute that there is a requirement to separate language and language attitudes conceptually at all. No one definition of language attitudes is sacrosanct. Thurstone (1931) defines an attitude as 'affect for or against a psychological object', emphasising the positive and the negative emotional responses that attitudes embody.

Sarnoff (1970 p279) also regards attitudes as involving 'a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects.' The shared consensus between these two definitions expresses a notion of favourability and unfavourability. Baker (1988 p112-115) overlaps the two dispositions to emphasise that attitudes are complex constructs and therefore may express both positive and negative notions. Contradiction may be found in the language attitudes of an individual or group yet an element of stability is often purported to exist, facilitating identification (Garrett 2010 p20).

Another salient feature of attitudes is that whether defined as latent hypothetical characteristics or psychological constructs, direct observation is obviously unachievable. Gunther *et al* (2008 p58) argue that mental and emotional phenomena are no less real than physical behaviours, yet the ambiguity of attitudes generates much of the debate as to how attitudes are to be accessed and inferred (Garrett 2010 p20). The behaviourist perspective identifies attitudes as observable entities in actual behaviour in social situations yet Dittmar (1976 p181) perceives the outcomes as being inconclusive as it is unsure whether results would be definable as a comprehensive representation or perhaps a mere insight into a particular facet.

Attitudes function as 'input into and output from social action' Garrett (2010 p21). This concept of language attitudes permitted Hymes (1971) to summarise that 'language attitudes

and the socio-cultural norms that they relate to are an integral part of our communicative competence' (Garrett 2010 p21). The major implication is that speakers are therefore capable of making linguistic choices, with each choice having different consequences in terms of perception for the listener as well as the speaker. This increases the links between attitudes and behaviour, as attitudes may influence behaviour in addition to being inferred from behaviour (Garrett 2010 p22). Remarkably, there is research that indicates that hereditary factors may influence attitudes (Tesser 1993). Essentially a member of a group learns to understand the group's attitudes toward a variety or a number of varieties and modifies these attitudes with personal experience (Garrett 2010 p22). Potter and Wetherell (1987), arguing from a discourse analysis perspective, place the emphasis upon the moment of social interaction with individuals conveying attitudinal positions during the course of the interface, creating considerable unpredictability and instability. Fink, Kaplowitz and McGeevy Hubbard (2002) highlight fluctuation in attitudes, arguing that 'it is reasonable to expect oscillatory dynamics for cognition' (Garrett, 2010 p29). Sears and Kosterman (1994 p264) argue that attitudes can differ in their levels of commitment, and Baker (1988 p112- 115) suggests that as attitudes are complex constructs it is therefore reasonable to indicate the positive and negative aspects, which at times may be in competition.

Potter and Wetherell (1987 p45) contend that as attitudinal variation is systematic there still exist varying degrees of durability. While there is debate as to the degrees of stability and context-dependency the boundaries are often drawn by the surrounding and similar definitions. For example, opinions may share many of the characteristics of attitudes but in essence be more discursive than attitudes, stereotypes or non-attitudes more superficial, and scripts structured in the expectations about an event sequence (Abelson *et al* 1982 p134).

Lambert (1967) dissects attitudes into three components: cognitive, affective and conative (sometimes referred to as behavioural) (Dittmar 1976 p181). The cognitive refers to the belief

structure of an individual in relation to an object of social significance (Garrett 2010 p23). The affective component relates to an individual's feelings towards an attitude object by expressing a degree of favourability. Garrett (2010 p23) states that 'the positive-to-negative directionality of attitudes is usually augmented by an assessment of intensity; for example, whether we mildly disapprove of something or we well and truly detest it'. The conative component relates to the individual's propensity to act in regards to an attitude object.

Garrett (2010 p23) states that the behavioural component of attitude is not necessarily consistent with cognitive and affective judgements. The social conventions of certain circumstances may prevent an individual from acting in a way that signifies their true relationship with an attitude object. The contrasting conclusions from attitudinal research in and out of a laboratory context further indicate the more situational constraints on attitudes following through into behaviour (Garrett 2010 p26). Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) created the Theory of Reasoned Action to accommodate for the discrepancies in the explanatory model. Consideration is placed on an intermediate step labelled 'behavioural intentions' that are influenced not only by an individual's attitude to a behavioural act but also by the evaluation of the consequences and how others will judge such behaviour. A division is often created regarding the three components, due in part to the qualities of inference in cognition and affect (Garrett 2010 p25).

The interconnectedness among the three components of attitude in the triadic model has caused much debate. Festinger's (1957) theory of cognitive dissonance advocates that individuals have an inclination to perceive their beliefs, attitudes and behaviour as sharing the same characteristics. La Piere's (1934) two year study on US citizens' attitudes towards people from the Far East concluded that there is a weak link between behaviour and attitude, even though La Piere accounts for this by indicating that questionnaires are not adequate indicators of social attitudes. Gass and Seiter (1999 p41) assert 'there wouldn't be much point

in studying attitudes if they were not, by and large, predictive of behaviour'. However useful attitude may be for understanding behaviour, the research on attitudes should not be perceived as a means to an end.

2.3.1 Language ideology

Language ideological research focuses upon how attitudes, beliefs and assumptions impact on language with particular interest in how these elements influence society and social action including the formation and effects of language polices (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p344). There are four main categories within language ideology; the nature of language itself, the values and meaning attached to particular codes, genres, media and discourses, the hierarchies of linguistic value, and how specific linguistic codes or forms are connected to identities (Jaffe 2009 p391). Irvine and Gal (2009 p376) define three semiotic processes which categorise the ideological representations of linguistic features: iconisation, erasure, and fractal recursivity. The term iconisation refers to the concept of when a linguistic variety defines the essence of a social group (Irvine and Gal 2009 p376). Erasure is defined as 'the ideological cancelling or ignoring of a social or sociolinguistic distinction' resulting in a particular group's complex social profile being replaced with a broad and shallow stereotype (Irvine and Gal 2009 p344). Fractal recursivity is defined as when 'some sort of distinction is reapplied 'recursively' on other situations' (Irvine and Gal 2009 p376), for example when a value-distinction of an individual is transferred onto a community as a whole (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p344).

Coupland and Jaworski (2009 p345) argue that the use of language invokes inherent metalinguistic and metapragmatic components. 'Speakers and listeners conduct interactions against the backdrop of an evolving set of beliefs, evaluations and assumptions as they

communicate. Strategising about communication (strategies, outcomes, identities, relationships and so on) is all part of what communication is' (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p345). While metalinguistic and metapragmatic components bind the language ideologies to social aspects, it does little but suppose that language choices may engage a broader number of psychological constructs than those immediately apparent. Jaffe (2009 p391) highlights the importance of referring to the relationship between the ideologies of the present with those of the past. She believes it beneficial to account for the competition and resultant successes and failures of ideologies, 'and how particular language ideologies become hegemonic or 'naturalised' or, alternatively, get challenged, contested or modified' (Jaffe 2009 p391). An account of the ascent or decline of a variety past or present involves, through a social perceptive, the concepts of stigma and prestige, which in turn evokes industrialisation and in particular nationalism.

St Clair (1982 p165) believes that nations' compulsion to instil a civil respect for society is a political socialisation of behaviour, citing language standardisation as one of the dominant instruments. It is perhaps of some significance that interest in ideologies does in fact centre upon the consequences of language ideologies as well as their structure (Irvine and Gal 2009 p375). Jaffe (2009 p346) maintains that the 'significant properties of language codes are the ones that people experience and perform in ideological dimensions of discourse practice', reemphasises the importance of social elements at a personal level of interaction involved in language attitudes.

The major dimensions along which views about languages vary in a social psychology framework are social status and group solidarity. The social distinctions between a standard and nonstandard reflect the relative social status or power of a group, with language vitality attributed to the value of solidarity. In-group solidarity or language loyalty reflects the social pressures to maintain languages/language varieties, even one without social prestige

(Edwards 1982 p20). When first conceiving the notion of status in regards to language it is important to comprehend that 'linguistic varieties are socially non-equivalent' (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p341). Fasold (1984 p148) suggests that attitudes toward a language are often the reflection of attitudes towards members of various ethnic groups; people's reactions to language varieties reveal much of their perception of the speakers of these varieties (Edwards 1982 p20).

It can often be inferred through members of a speech community over-reporting their usage of a standard that there is prestige associated with that standard. Conversely, by the same measure research indicates that a covert prestige can also be connected to a non-standard variety (Richards and Schmidt 2003 p131). Typically, a standard will often be associated with high status while the positive form of a non-standard variety can manifest as being highly associated with solidarity (Garrett 2010 p94). Therefore, for example in second language acquisition the target language can often be identified as a passport to prestige and success (Ellis 1994 p117). This is referred to as instrumental motivation as opposed to integrative motivation which indicates a desire to assimilate with a culture and the identity of that culture through learning the language. If an intense amount of positive attitude is created towards a variety with which the speech community has come into contact, the circumstances can result in a shift from using one particular variety to another. If the original language is not maintained in certain domains then language shift could result in the loss of that variety. Coupland and Jaworski (2009 p342) therefore argue that attitudes toward language are 'central' to research in linguistics, particularly relating to minority languages, multilingualism, language rights and language death.

Folk linguistics considers "ordinary people's" conscious metalinguistic commentary (Niedzielski and Preston 2009 p343). Essentially, it is a pejorative label applied to amateur enquiry into linguistics, with sociolinguists citing interest in the opinions of these ordinary

people as they are deemed to be 'more vivid and judgmental' than that of the researcher (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p344). Niedzielski and Preston (2009 p343) argue that real-world decisions about language use and language learning are influenced by everyday beliefs, perceptions and evaluations of language use, yet there may well be problematic aspects too such as the involvement of an interviewing bias for example. Participants are being asked to indicate differences between themselves and their 'neighbours', even if one person is commenting upon a group a thousand miles away if it is still in the same country (or another unit which could signify intra-commentary), for example, then they are expressing differences not similarity. Secondly, participants may respond with opinions that indicate iconisation, erasure or fractal recursivity. Coupland and Jaworski (2009 p342) also argue that 'it is difficult for language attitudes studies to reflect the influence of local social contexts upon social judgments', which perhaps merely accounts for our inability to completely comprehend social complexity.

Niedzielski and Preston (2009 p371) assert that their 'quantitative and discoursal data from the US suggests that an underlying folk theory of language stands in stark contrast to the one held by most professional linguists.' They argue that this is so because linguists believe that language is a concrete instantiation in the mind of individuals, generating concrete notions such as 'dialects' and 'language' produced in contradiction to the realities that reflect the influence of social aspects (Niedzielski and Preston 2009 p371-372). Niedzielski and Preston's claims are perhaps a little polemic after all while broadly accepted definitions may be superficial yet are essential for consensus and thus development with a field.

Ochs focuses upon language socialisation, highlighting the process by which 'novices' are inducted linguistically and culturally. These novices acquire potentially culture-specific indexical relationships between communicative acts, stances and identities (Coupland and Jaworski 2009 p346). Ochs (2009 p412) indicates that members of a society have an

understanding of 'the norms, preferences and expectations' of their society 'that relate particular indexical dimensions to one another'. The concept of stance is also introduced by Ochs (2009 p347) as being a reflection of one's position in relation to a concept which 'might more durably define those speakers, but only indirectly so'. Much of Ochs' work relies on accepting the authority of the socially indoctrinated and the social-neutrality of the novice.

'By focusing on linguistic differences, we intend to draw attention to some semiotic properties of those processes of identity formation that depend on defining the self as against some imagined 'other'', which is often essentialised and imagined as homogeneous (Irvine and Gal 2009 p377). 'Other' in inter-Tibetan group dynamics is defined by identity constructs and linguistic differences, yet the diasporic circumstances which value Tibetan cultural items accommodate identity and linguistic diversity, and 'other' Tibetan varieties are available for TDD members to use. Commonly, members of a society acquire attitudes towards language and the usage of language while being able to constantly update their repertoires within the parameters of the conscious elements involved. Therefore, attempting to capture how the language attitudes of TDD members affect their speech practices and how they perceive their linguistic repertoires are the central themes of this research.

2.4 Language contact

'When we speak of 'language contact' we are therefore talking about people speaking different languages coming into contact with each other' (Li 2006 p3). However, this research identifies the language contact situation in the PRC regarding the intrusion of Chinese, the presence of the host languages of Hindi and English in the TDD, but also the contact of the multiple Tibetan varieties in the TDD. Language contact describes several instances which can represent a possible enhancement for a speech community such as

linguistic accommodation or bilingualism, yet language contact may be a catalyst for language shift and loss. These circumstances, described by Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) as linguistic genocide inevitably indicate the social and political marginalisation and/or subordination of minority language speakers (May 2009 p258).

Myers-Scotton (2002 p30) states the importance of understanding the broad structural outcome of the cycles of language contact; either when monolingual speakers are put into circumstances which result in them learning another language or alternately children are born into a situation where they learn two languages simultaneously. Imbalance in these bilingual circumstances can end in language shift and the dominant language becomes speakers' one and only language (Myers-Scotton 2002 p30). Weinreich (1967 p69) simply describes language shift as 'a change from the habitual use of one language to that of another.' Edwards (1985 p164) asserts that economics has a profound effect on language and in implicit in linguistic alterations. Myers-Scotton (2002 p31-33) believes the six major influences for speech communities to acquire another language are:

- Military invasion and subsequent colonisation
- Living in a border area or an ethnolinguistic enclave.
- Migration for social and economic reasons
- Education as a factor in bilingualism (such as the spread of Latin in Europe)
- Spread of international languages
- Ethnic awareness (such as an imposed perception of group membership like nationalism)

While bilingualism is not a stage in language shift the interesting point regarding the above list is that all of the points are applicable to the TDD. The essential components in the concepts of linguistic decline and language death are the particularly small number of

speakers or a failure for a linguistic variety to be transferred from one generation to another. The particular circumstances that the Tibetan language experiences in the PRC, where the majority of the 4.6 million[30] Tibetan speakers are located, emphasises the issue that even though Tibetan has a large number of speakers it, or rather, the multiple Tibetic varieties, may face circumstances which impose a clear threat to the Tibetan language. If PRC minority language policy focuses on the preservation of the Tibetan language without identifying the multiple components, then a number of Tibetic varieties, possibly with significantly small numbers of speakers, face a moribund situation quicker than anticipated.

The imposition of the Chinese culture on Tibet cannot be underestimated. While in terms of the behaviour of nation states in world geo-politics the Chinese expansionism is a typical, accepted example of state behaviour, the circumstances nonetheless are more adequately described as colonial or imperial. Across the Chinese state the existence of the 144 endangered languages are testimonies to the hegemony of Hanisation.[31]

Coulmas (2010 p175) indicates that in a diasporic situation the symbolic value of a heritage variety can intensify in reaction to varying and complex features in the social dynamics which were not prevalent in the homeland. However, immigrant varieties can face extinction within generations 'unless extraordinary initiatives are taken in the communities where their preservation is deemed culturally important' (Chambers 2009 p175). Language loyalty, in principle, is congruent with the diasporic culture of preservation in the TDD. Dorian (2009 p553) asserts that the exile environment is an apt location to produce community allegiance and this language loyalty, even from *semi-speakers*. If TDD members identify as multiple Tibetic variety speakers, in the diasporic culture of preservation, then language loyalty may

[30] This is a conservative estimate cited by Yan (2000) from the Institute of Economic Research, State Department of Planning Commission, Beijing. The issue is politicised and ethnic Tibetan population and Tibetan speaker figures are numerous and various. The CTA often states that 6 million Tibetans live in Tibet.

[31] http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/endangered-languages/

perhaps be applied to multiple Tibetic varieties in conjunction with acts of linguistic accommodation.

Trudgill (1986 p39) highlights the concept of accommodation in face-to-face interactions where 'speakers accommodate to each other linguistically by reducing the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopting features form each other's speech.' Interlocutors can exaggerate linguistic features to cause divergence as well as converging (Richards and Schmidt 2003 p5). Communication accommodation theory (CAT) incorporates both these features. Giles (2009 p276-282) emphasises the processes of accommodation to be visible and consequential where 'people can converge to underscore common social identities, to convey empathy, and to develop bonds with other' or more practically, 'convergence may also be a device by which speakers make themselves better understood and can be an important component of communicative competence.' Garrett (2004 p56) argues that when convergence does not involve a shift from one variety to another, 'language functions as a salient marker of ethnic or other group identity.' Incremental adaptation reflects circumstances of cooperative behaviour and mutual adjustment regardless of interlocutors' awareness of their involvement in collective behaviour (Coulmas 2010 p81). However, if the act of convergence transfers into a norm then the adaption to the circumstances may reflect a more permanent linguistic and identity change.

Giles (2009 p284) depicts divergence as a form of in-group linguistic maintenance whereby 'the more a person psychologically invests in or affiliates with a valued in-group (religious, political, whatever), the more they will want to accentuate that positive identity by communicatively divergent means.' The persistence of the non-Utsang varieties in the TDD could be explained by associations of in-group familiarity and solidarity (Gumperz 1982 p66). Bilingual interlocutors may also use two language varieties, not including established borrowed words, in their speech signifying code-switching (CS) or code-mixing (Myers-

Scotton 2009 p473). The two prominent themes of CS are inter-sentential CS and intra-sentential CS; the first most often focuses on social features and the second grammatical structure. Edwards and Gardner-Chloros (2007) assert that the social context or discourse structure of CS and grammatical outcomes are linked. However, the binding feature and weakness of all CS approaches is that 'the analyst makes interpretations about the social meaning of speakers' CS choices that are more or less subjective' (Myers-Scotton 2009 p482). In combination these aspects of language contact not only show language as a transmitter of culture and identity but expressions of them.

Burling (2007 p207) emphasises that a lingua franca is accessible to people of varied linguistic backgrounds and often does not require perfect competence to use, but he also stresses that a standard variety used as a lingua franca may be considered a poor choice for informal discussions, using the example of Nagamese speakers choosing not to gossip in English (Burling 2007 p209). Coulmas (2010 p3) emphasises the importance of extra-linguistic factors involved in linguistic diversity. Yet it cannot be regarded as a universal principle that the use of a particular variety reflects certain social expressions, as the relationships among language, setting and meaning are not fixed (Zentella 1997 p3). It needs to be taken into account as well that language choices are not necessarily made on a conscious level (Gumperz 1984 p110).

2.4.1 Polynomic language circumstances

One of the central themes in this research is an attempt to establish if the TDD is a polynomic language situation. Polynomy can be contrasted with the concept of diglossia to define and contextualise it. Li (2006 p59) asserts that 'the notion of diglossia describes the functional differentiation of language in bilingual and multilingual communities.' Fishman (2006 p82)

indicates that four scenarios exist whereby diglossia may exist without bilingualism and vice versa. However, the key element of diglossia according to Ferguson (2009 p448) is the labelling of linguistic varieties with functional differentiation as either 'high' for superposed varieties or 'low' for a regional dialect. Coupland and Jaworski (2009 p341) submit that 'even though sociolinguists believe strongly in the *linguistic equivalence* of all speech – that is, that, on purely linguistic grounds, there is no reason to say that one variety is inherently superior to another – they are acutely aware of how linguistic varieties are social *non*-equivalent.' Therefore, an awareness of the equivalence/non-equivalence paradigm enables polynomy to be compared with diglossia. While a diglossic situation can be seen to embody non-equivalence, Jaffe (2003 p515) asserts that 'both the discourse on diglossia and the discourse on polynomy seek to demystify the "misrecognition" of structures and processes of domination built into dominant language ideologies and practices.' Therefore, polynomy is not a model for non-equivalence of linguistic varieties in social settings but of an attempt to apply an equality of social equivalence. Jaffe (2003 p515-516) indicates that viewing Corsican linguistic variation in relation to cultural identity will have different implications for Corsican language policy and advocacy with a shift towards polynomy representing an 'expansion and refinement of Corsican language planners' and academics' thinking about misrecognition; whereas talking about "diglossia" focused attention on the imbalance of power between Corsican and French, and how stigma was reproduced institutionally and internalized at a personal level.'

Jaffe (2003 p516) proposes that '"polynomic" language is defined both by its internal variation (multiple centres of "authenticity" and "authority") and by speakers' recognition of linguistic unity in diversity.' Or "polynomic" language as a language;

'with an abstract unity, recognized by its users in several modalities of existence; all of them are equally tolerated and they are not ranked or functionally specialized. It is accompanied by

phonological and morphological intertolerance between users of different varieties; moreover, lexical multiplicity is seen as a source of richness' (Marcellesi 1989 p170).

Jaffe (2003 p516) makes the distinction between an 'imposed notion of a single authoritative standard' and a polynomic situation, not consisting of competent speakers of diverse regional dialects but of speakers with partial competencies as 'linguistic diversity is not just regional, but a function of language shift and contact.' However, Jaffe (2003 p517) emphasises a perceived attitudinal shift from "low prestige" varieties speakers seen as having a linguistic deficit to a superior form of sociolinguistic consciousness.

Jaffe's (2003 p529) research in an educational setting in Corsica reveal that polynomy is not merely a spontaneous outcome of speakers of various linguistic varieties with some degree of mutual intelligibility but also involves an active, pedagogical agenda. This agenda enables polynomy awareness to be 'one form of resistance to dominant language ideologies' as a plural model of linguistic identity and value (Jaffe 2003 p536). Perhaps rather cynically Jaffe's "low prestige" variety empowerment could be judged as pandering to an ideal. However, taken at face value it appears not only apt at accommodating the multiple variants of a language, but particularly relevant in helping to define the linguistic circumstances of the TDD.

2.5 Chapter summary

The pressures of subjugation in the PRC and the effects of displacement in exile not only make TDD members aware of the Tibetan culture but the threats it faces. Furthermore, the issue of how the Tibetan culture is defined and what influences the TDD members are exposed to create representations that focus on the value of Tibetan culture, yet perhaps also

essentialises, romanticises and stereotypes it too. Debating how the Tibetan culture is perceived is appropriate, yet can also be saturating leading to negative effects which emphasise the abstractionism of the issues surrounding the Tibetan culture and the political circumstances. Diasporic Tibetan culture idealises the preservation of Tibetan cultural items. The diasporic culture of preservation is beneficial for assigning value to Tibetan identities and Tibetic varieties, however also possibly imposes the constraints of conservatism.

Contemporary identity theory identifies individuals and groups' abilities to construct their identity. However, regardless of issues of worth, identity is often defined simplistically using broad concepts such as nationalism and essentialism as valid representations.

Language attitudes contextualise how speakers perceive linguistic varieties and speakers of linguistic varieties. While perhaps latent on occasion, language attitudes also impact cognitively, affectively, and behaviourally in relation to a linguistic hierarchy.

Finally, language contact can evoke numerous linguistic phenomena including language shift, language loss and language revitalisation. While bilingualism should be considered the linguistic norm it is transitory in nature, which in term affects how language is used in addition to how it is defined. Polynomy empowers speakers in a speech community with numerous varieties yet mutual intelligibility as all varieties are valued as authentic cultural expressions.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter presents the approaches used, the ontological and epistemological perspectives positions of the research, the issues regarding validity and reliability and explanations of the research design, execution, processing and analysis undertaken. This chapter begins by highlighting the major themes perceived to be involved in the subject matter followed by the research questions and an explanation as to their inclusion in the research. Section 3.3 presents the data collection techniques used and a description of the intent in utilising these concepts and the analytic procedures used to interpret the data. Section 3.4 presents the issues relating to the approach and perspective used in this research followed by section 3.5, which concludes and summarises the chapter.

3.1 Aspects of research

This research has been designed to investigate three particular aspects of the TDD, namely TDD members' linguistic repertoires and speech practices, TDD members' language attitudes and TDD members' identity constructs. The TDD is a community consisting of Tibetans from numerous intra-Tibetan groups from Tibet and the diaspora. Prior to the field work the TDD was assumed to accommodate multiple Tibetic varieties and multiple intra-Tibetan identity constructs, yet there were a number of further aspects worth indicating here as being salient in a description of the community.

These include the politicisation of the TDD, the effects of migration both in terms of the status and rights assigned to Tibetans in the TDD but also the effects of a transiency affected by immigration and emigration, and further phenomena involved in the diasporic nature of the TDD relating to the instability of existence as well as the effects of cross-cultural

experiences between the TDD and Indian nationals and other groups, the most prominent of which are Western tourists. Therefore a particular prerequisite when constructing the design was to focus on not only identifying the linguistic, attitudinal and identity features of the TDD but also to establish the significance of the relationship of these concepts to each other. Therefore the emphasis of the research was not to collect informant-reported responses on their relative abilities to perform and comprehend certain linguistic varieties and focus on these concepts as being wholly accurate representations of such, but to establish what linguistic varieties informants reported as having in their linguistic repertoires and their attitudes towards linguistic varieties present in the TDD. The third element of identity specifically relates to the other two concepts when establishing an understanding of TDD members' linguistic repertoires and speech practices and language attitudes associated with the Tibetic varieties dynamic and the concept of multiple-intra-Tibetan group and multiple-inter-Tibetan group dynamics.

The place of birth responses (primarily focusing on the Cholka-sum and diasporic categories) of informants are used as the primary independent variable. These intra-Tibetan identities are fixed within the pan-Tibetan identity with both 'intra' and 'pan' aspects of informants' identity constructions perceived as saliency, irrefutable, accepted features of TDD members' identities conforming to Fishman's (2009 p442) observation that these features are putative ethnic essences of inter-generational continuity of 'one's own kind' that represent a 'being' absorbed via the mother's milk. Furthermore, these ethnic essences were directly linked to the Tibetan issue compared to gender and age identities therefore the significance was not only these culture items of identity but the time and space in which they were located.

However Anand (2002 p48) argues that if there is any commonality among contemporary political, social, linguistic and cultural theories, it is the idea that any search for the true essence of a concept is futile. Makoni and Pennycook (2007 p1-2) argue that, through the

process of classification and naming, languages were 'invented', and that 'an ideology of languages as separate and enumerable categories was also created'. Therefore, this research does not seek to classify, structure and define Tibetic varieties and Tibetan identities but through the informant-led research focus on the relationship among the elements of language and identity emphasising the attitudes of TDD members as occupying a space between language and identity.

The informant-led perspective echoes Niedzielski and Preston's (2009 p359) opinions on folk linguistics as being an 'integral part of the ethnography of a speech community, any research that depends on an understanding of a community will need FL information as much as it needs any other demographic and/or linguistic characterisation. It is difficult to imagine not wanting to know what members of a speech community believe about the linguistic phenomena that are under investigation in the study of variation and change.' Therefore the informant-led perspective requires a valid sample to be taken eliciting informant responses using a mixed methodology approach.

3.2 Research questions

The research questions below were perceived as central to developing an understanding to the key aspects of the research.

Research Questions

1. What are the linguistic repertoires and speech practices of members of the TDD?
2. How is intelligibility among Tibetic variety speakers reported?
3. What are the identity constructs of the members of the TDD?

4. Are Tibetic varieties paradoxically assigned both prestigious and stigmatising traits regarding status and solidarity that enable members of the TDD to react both favourably and unfavourably to these varieties?

The above research questions were initially drafted prior to the fieldwork and the structure of the research focuses on these points. As mentioned above, with data collected using these four points as the central premises to the approach in the research, further concepts exploring the dynamics among these aspects could then be identified in the data (see chapter seven for the discussion regarding how the data produced by the research questions are associated).

The inductive research approach produced numerous results presented in chapters four to six (see the summary of results sections of each chapter). Chapter four's results primarily relate to the third research question, chapter five's to the first and second research questions, and the results in chapter six relate to the fourth research question.

This research endeavours to combine qualitative and quantitative approaches. As it was recognised that the sociolinguistic aspects of the TDD were largely unexplored, it was perceived to be ideal to employ a principal concept associated with the qualitative approach 'for treating theory as something that emerges out of the collection and analysis of data' (Bryman 2008 p373). The inductive nature of the research reduces the need to develop prior hypotheses; nevertheless it was perceived as useful to highlight certain concepts within the themes presented in the research questions by hypothesising possible results, as follows:

1. A multiple Tibetic variety model exists in the TDD which represents a language contact situation which emphasises accommodation and not shift in Tibetic variety usages.
2. The awareness and acceptances of the multiple Tibetic variety model provides an accommodating circumstance for all Tibetic varieties.

3. A positive attitudinal position towards the multiple Tibetic model increases Tibetic variety competence.
4. The TDD is a polynomic language contact situation.
5. Tibetic varieties are salient intra-Tibetan group identity markers.

The TDD was perceived to be a multiple Tibetic varieties contact situation, yet it was often the case outside the TDD that varieties of Tibetan were mutually unintelligible (cf. Tournadre 2003). Obtaining an understanding of intelligibility among different Tibetic variety speakers was identified as paramount. Coulmas (2010 p32) asserts that 'it is the rule rather than the exception' that people converge during conversation, yet how would this manifest itself in the TDD? Would the data collected in the research suggest that informants acquire multiple Tibetic variety repertoires or an increased ability in comprehension of Tibetic varieties? It was perceived that informants' identity constructs would impact on how they would report on their linguistic repertoires and speech practices. For example, if the Tibetan identity construct was reported in particularly negative terms then it would be useful to see if informants chose to emphasise their multilingual repertoires and their ability to utilise non-Tibetic varieties such as English, Hindi or Chinese. Conversely, if informants reported strong intra-Tibetan identity constructs, would that impact on how they viewed the associated Tibetic variety?

Collecting language attitudinal data was seen as an opportunity to develop an understanding between informants' pan-Tibetan and intra-Tibetan group identities and their Tibetic variety repertoires, as well as the multiple Tibetic variety model in the TDD. While informants' language attitudinal responses may develop an understanding of the language and identity circumstances particular to the informant, it was also perceived to be relevant in addressing how informants perceived TDD members of different intra-Tibetan group associations that spoke different Tibetic varieties which the informant did not have a strong association with. Would a diasporic culture of preservation be perceived as assigning value to all Tibetan

cultural items, or perhaps assign a disproportionate amount of status to the most prominent aspects?

At this stage it is worth indicating the independent variables involved. Gender and age were two independent variables used which need little explanation here, but the primary independent variables in the research were the intra-Tibetan group identities based on place of birth and self-identified regional association to the Cholka-sum categorisation. The research also identified the diasporic Shejak category as an equivalent intra-Tibetan group category to the Cholka-sum categories for those Tibetans born in exile. In addition to these categories it was perceived as useful to also group informants using the Shejak/Sanjo dichotomy as this was an aspect of the TDD its members were aware of due to the perceived difference between the two groups.

At the design stage for all three data collection techniques, the terms 'male' and 'female' refer to gender categorisation based on the assertion that gender is a 'system of social practices' which, in turn, creates and maintains gender distinctions as this system 'organises relations of inequality on the basis of [these distinctions]' (Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin 1999 p192). However, while not a neutral term in social science, it is considered the most appropriate.

As the issue of Cholka-sum identity constructs was identified as possibly being of a sensitive nature, informants were also given the option to state that they were Tibetan, and given the opportunity to choose as many applicable identities as they saw appropriate. Informants were also able to state other identities if they so desired. It should be noted that the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy uses two generic terms to form a simple, labelling categorisation that supposes there are intra-Tibetan groups within both aspects. Shejak may be a term used to describe a diasporic intra-Tibetan group by an informant, yet it does not exclude the notion that there is

variation within the Shejak construct. This mode of identification can be applied also to the Sanjo construct and also the linguistic varieties associated with the broader intra-Tibetan group identities.

Conversely, the Tibetan identity construct was perceived as homogenous. The shared commonality of Tibetan ethnicity and cultural practices is emphasised by a diasporic culture of preservation forming the pan-Tibetan identity construct. The pan-Tibetan identity exists in conjunction with salient regional and diasporic intra-Tibetan group identities depicted as 'otherness in sameness' and 'unity in diversity'. Therefore, the research sought to identify how TDD members defined their linguistic repertoires and speech practices. For example, would informants state performance and comprehension abilities in similar ways, or report mono-Tibetic variety or multiple-Tibetic varieties repertoires? Identifying social factors contextualises speech practices. For example, Coulmas (2010 p175) asserts that weak identity expression might correlate with convergence towards the standard variety. Could this concept therefore be shown to exist in the TDD and if so, would it be comprehensive or a feature of a particular group?

3.3 Research design

This research uses a mixed methods approach, combining a quantitative aspect using a questionnaire survey and verbal-guise test (VGT) and a qualitative aspect in the interview data collection. This approach not only means the data can be triangulated to ensure validity and reliability, but it is beneficial in facilitating alternate data sets and analyses which combine to enable a greater depth of understanding. Each research instrument was perceived as advantageous to the research as a whole; a large sample in the questionnaire survey would allow for adequate representation of the TDD while the controlled aspect of the VGT would

allow for accuracy regarding informants' attitudinal responses to Tibetic varieties, and the interviews would provide informants with an opportunity to express their perceptions of Tibetan identity and linguistic circumstances in depth. A key aspect of the research under investigation was the collection of data regarding TDD members' perceptions and attitudes as opposed to behaviour.

The mixed methods approach undertaken in this study is not identified as innovative. Edwards (1985 p146) indicates the commonality of this approach in language attitudinal research, yet the advantage is using tested and appropriate data collection techniques. As this research is also the first sociolinguistic study conducted in the TDD to my knowledge establishing a broad foundation on which to develop future research was also alluring.

3.3.1 Research instruments

The three data collection techniques employed in this research are:

- Questionnaire surveys
- Interviews
- A verbal-guise test

The combination of questionnaires, verbal-guise test and interviews as research instruments provide data at different levels of analysis. Quantitative data through a questionnaire survey compared to qualitative data through interviews; direct methods through a questionnaire survey and interviews to indirect methods through the verbal guise test; highly-structured questionnaires to semi-structured interviews.

The qualitative interview allows informants to elaborate on their perceptions regarding their attitudes toward Tibetic and other varieties, as well as enhancing the understanding of the constructs of identity. Miles and Huberman (1994 p41) suggest that combining the two types of methods allows for confirmation or corroboration of each other via triangulation, a more elaborate analysis providing greater detail, and the possibility of initiating fresh insight. The elongated aspect of the field work can be of particular value as it facilitates the interpretation of the relationship between variables (Bryman 2008 p460).

Each data collection technique not only addresses the subject matter in a unique and complementary fashion in conjunction with the other technique, but also enables the research to combine both the 'static' data of quantitative research and the 'processual' data of qualitative research (Bryman 2008 p615), and the relative differences of quantitative data with the absolute differences of qualitative data (Chambers and Trudgill 2005 p135-136). Triangulation of the data can also corroborate the results from each technique mutually corroborated (Bryman 2008 p608). The resultant analysis can provide credibility, completeness, context and enhancement (Bryman 2008 p609).

3.3.1.1 Questionnaire survey

The questionnaire survey (QS) provides a large representative sample of the TDD to establish the essential data concerning perceptions of identity and identity boundaries, broad demographic issues, and the reported linguistic repertoires of the TDD. In particular the questionnaire can provide an ideal chance to collect data concerning the issue of regional and diasporic identity. This stage also allows for direct enquiry as to informants' attitudes toward Tibetic varieties.

The value of the questionnaire survey as a research instrument is in its potential for collecting a large sample. An informed understanding of the social nature of language can be sought through identifying the linguistic choices of the collective (Coulmas 2010 p11). However, Bryman (2004 p133-4) points out the possible pitfalls in using a questionnaire survey. In particular, bias may arise due to informants stating responses which are considered more socially desirable, or responses may reflect acquiescence.

Initially a pilot questionnaire was conducted with both Tibetan and English versions available. Two prominent outcomes of the pilot were that firstly an English version was not required and secondly there were a number of translation issues which needed to be resolved. The pilot questionnaire also allowed informants to respond in a particularly ambiguous way therefore producing a considerable amount of data, while the actual questionnaire survey limited informant responses and collected data fitting into broader categorisation.

The questionnaire survey was conducted in the TDD in the spring of 2012. The key aspects of this survey relate directly to the four research questions stated above. The questionnaire survey was distributed throughout the TDD over a two-week period. The objective was to distribute as many questionnaires as possible and then attempt to collect as many back as possible. This process involved distributing questionnaires via social networks and visiting institutions such as the TSS. This resulted in the collection of 801 completed questionnaires.
QS was designed with three defining sections. The first elicited responses regarding demographic aspects, which allowed data regarding informants' identity constructs to be elicited. The second section elicited responses regarding informants' linguistic repertoires and their speech practices in regards to both performance and competence, and the third related to the elicitation of informants' language attitudes. While the verbal-guise test sought to elicit indirect attitudinal responses to the four Tibetic varieties of *a-mdo-skad*, *khams-skad*, *dbus-gtsang-skad* and *shejak-skad*, the third questionnaire section elicited direct attitudinal

responses towards the ambiguous 'multiple Tibetic variety speaker' and the purity, utility and status of specific Tibetic varieties.

QS informants were asked 16 questions in total, with informants reporting on linguistic varieties in their spoken repertoires and linguistic varieties they comprehended but without rating ability. There were eight questions which required informants to evaluate a response on a five-point Likert scale. The first three questions sought to elicit demographic responses regarding gender, age and place of birth. The fourth question sought to elicit informants' identity, yet as it enquires specifically about intra-Tibetan group constructs associated predominantly with the Cholka-sum and diasporic Shejak construct, this question was used to validate the place of birth responses. Questions five and six elicited informant responses regarding their linguistic and Tibetic varieties repertoires, and question eight their linguistic and Tibetic variety competences. Questions twelve, fourteen and sixteen elicited informant responses regarding multiple Tibetic variety repertoires and competences.

Finally, the remaining questions (7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15) enquired about informants' attitudinal responses regarding the multiple Tibetic variety model and the utility, status and purity of the prominent Tibetic varieties, particularly dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad. Question ten sought to elicit informant responses on the purity of dbus-gtsang-skad. The statement was worded so as to define the Tibetic variety as the one spoken by people from Tibet. This was done not only to differentiate between dbus-gtsang-skad spoken by Tibetans born in Tibet and those born in the diaspora, but also to challenge any notion of the purity of dbus-gtsang-skad in regard to other Tibetic varieties from Tibet or the Tibetan ethnic regions in the PRC such as a-mdo-skad or khams-skad. Question fifteen was designed to elicit informant responses on the purity of shejak-skad, a Tibetic variety generally considered by TDD members as lacking in purity. It was seen as important not to merely establish whether

informants thought that shejak-skad was pure or not, but to develop an understanding of the degree of stigmatisation with which informants labelled this variety.

As a questionnaire survey could collect a large sample the primary aim was the induction of salient aspects in the informants' responses. As the data were based on the self-reporting of informants it was believed that a halo affect may occur where informants may express linguistic varieties regarded as prestigious as part of their repertoire when perhaps that elicitation better reflected an embellishment. Therefore, a large sample would produce results where it could be established if a linguistic variety was spoken comprehensively or by a particular category of informants.

In addition to informants' Tibetic varieties, it was also perceived as important to collect data on all of the linguistic varieties in informants' repertories. This not only helped to develop an understanding of the linguistic circumstances in the TDD but the inclusion of the non-Tibetic varieties in the data allowed for comparisons to be made with Tibetic varieties specifically regarding varieties reported by informants as spoken and comprehended. For example, would informants report performance and comprehension abilities equally, or would comprehension abilities in Tibetic varieties be reported more substantially compared to non-Tibetic varieties, and if so, would multiple-Tibetic variety comprehension be salient enough to suggest evidence for a polynomic Tibetic contact situation?

The terms 'linguistic competence', 'linguistic comprehension' and 'linguistic intelligibility' in relation to this research are considered similar in that they are contrasted with 'linguistic performance'. Generally the term 'comprehension' is used as this was considered the most appropriate.

Where it is most appropriate the results are presented in their entirety. Typically questions generated an extensive variety of responses, often as variations of a certain set. Therefore, the most salient features are presented and not the nebulous whole. Nonetheless, if the data from

less significant quarters indicated a variation on the themes presented by the major components then it was included. It was also seen as vital to attempt to include as many of the informant responses as possible. Therefore, responses were used in the results even when an informant had not filled out the questionnaire in its entirety, as the epistemological approach chosen emphasised an informant-led perspective.

3.3.1.2 Interviews

Mertens (1998 p321) describes interviews as a research instrument that offers a semi-structured 'guided' discussion which can have a number of advantageous elements. Beards and Keil (1992 p261-2) observe that ‘the open-ended, discursive nature of the interviews permit an iterative process of refinement’ whereby issues that become of apparent interest in initial interviews can be raised in later ones. The perpetual development of the interview questions signified that themes relevant to the research can be developed regardless of the stage of the enquiry, thus providing a flexible structure which can accommodate additional and complementary issues throughout the data collection process.

This research instrument is also beneficial in representing the possible complexity of informant identity by helping to prevent pigeon-holing (Bryman 2008 p438). Informants can communicate their understanding of their identities revealed through the ethnographic analysis of their pragmatic and meta-pragmatic actions (Bucholtz and Hall 2004 p371). Ethnographers have often relied too heavily on cultural ideologies, mistaking them for accurate descriptions of cultural practice. Such errors are easy to make given that ideologies about practice usually bear some relation to practice, however distorted, and that practice often reproduces ideological expectations. (Bucholtz and Hall 2004 p382).

Fifty-six informants were interviewed from March 2012 until September of the same year. Thirty-two interviews were conducted by myself, ten with translator T1, a male aged twenty-six from Kham, two with T2, a female aged twenty-nine from Dharamsala, three with T3, a female aged twenty-eight from Nagpur, eight with T4, a female aged forty-one from Utsang, and one with T5, a male aged twenty-six from Ladakh.[32]

An obvious disadvantage, and perhaps on occasion an advantage, was having a translator present during the interviews. This third party was often not unknown to the informant; therefore it is conceivable that some responses were affected by this. However, this research follows the assertion that the informality and 'conversational style' of the interviews with the translator created a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere where informants were content to lose themselves in the subject matter. The clear limitation of using a translator, and ones that were not professionally trained as such, was in the actual translating of the informant responses. The translators that took part in this study were very close friends of mine and were made aware before any interviews took place of the precision needed in reported informant responses. During the interviews I often took time to clarify the points being made and used follow up questions to contextualise responses.

The qualitative aspect of this research was perceived as being advantageous for two reasons. Primarily, the data elicited from the interviews provides a degree of complexity crucial to developing a competent representation of the circumstances of the TDD. Secondly, while the elicitation of TDD members' perspectives of these issues provides fundamental insight in its own right, it was perceived as being particularly useful in contextualising the quantitative data from the QS and VGT.

[32] Kham and Utsang are regions in the Tibetan ethnic areas of the PRC and Nagpur and Ladakh are located in India.

Whilst taking into account the influences that may bias informant responses relating to the dynamics of the interview, the emphasis of this aspect of the research was to endeavour to collect informant responses which could be accepted as personal, authentic expressions. Informant perspective-led research may be perceived in a number of possibly patronising ways such as an enactment of empowerment or providing a vehicle for informants to declare cultural ownership, yet the motivation to engage TDD members in this research reflects the need to emphasise TDD members' opinions as an essential element in reporting upon the language attitudes and identity constructs that exist in the TDD. The objective of this research is to present detailed informant responses and therefore present the varying, opposing and agreeing opinions as items of expression of each informant and also in its entirety as a collective thus presenting, in part, views and opinions which relate to the community as a whole.

The relevance of certain informant views were identified through a number of different means, yet the criteria focused on identifying the salient features of the interviews. Certain opinions may be shared by a number of informants, or a particular opinion in conjunction with a number of other opinions may help in developing a comprehensive, complex representation of informant perspectives. Where informants share similar views it was attempted to report them as such, yet the main objective is to present the views of the informants in as much detail as possible, thus agreement among informants was emphasised in combination with reporting individual expression.

The decision was made to present informant responses in reported speech where possible, and to layer and contextualise responses by presenting them in conjunction with each other. In most cases the text of reported speech is directly attributed to an informant's interview identity which was assigned to maintain informants' anonymity. For example, a quote may be attributed to 'informant 21', and it is possible to view in the appendix the informant's gender,

age and place of birth. In the situation where a particular point is made by a number of informants the informant numbers are presented in brackets at the end of the sentence.

The majority of the interviews were done on a one-to-one basis or with a translator. Informants 29 and 30 were interviewed together as well as informants 53 and 54. Informant 45 was interviewed in the company of potential informant 46, yet while potential informant 46 agreed to take part at the commencement of the interview he/she did not in actuality. The interview of informant 43 was cut short after just over an hour and this informant took part in the only other group interview with informants 48 and 49. He was originally recorded as informant 47 for that particular interview but this allocated identity was cut and his interview transcription was assigned the identity of informant 43. It is worth noting that informant 18 came and sat with informant 55 and me for a brief period during informant 55's interview and her comments were used. The majority of interviews lasted from around one to two and a half hours and were conducted in one sitting, while 7 interviews were conducted in two or three sittings.

Informants were sourced from four categories; (1) old acquaintances I had made during my previous stay in Dharamsala, (2) work colleagues and students from the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet[33], (3) new acquaintances made during the period of field work, and (4) acquaintances of the above. When enquiring if a potential informant would be interested in taking part in an interview, it was considered particularly important to reiterate that participation would be appreciated but should only take place if the individual desired a platform to express his/her opinions on the subject matter. There was little, if any, reluctance regarding participation, which dictated an approach of 'open enquiry' among members of my social and professional networks.

[33] See terminology section.

In the developmental stage for the research it was perceived as useful to attempt to enlist other interviewers to allow for a comparison among informant responses from varying interviewers. While assuming that informant responses are standardised regardless of whom the interviewers are is an undefendable position in qualitative research, the decision was made that I would participate in all of the interviews and that this constant aspect of the data collection would be accountable in the results. The perceived benefits were judged to be associated with the interview techniques required to identify the significance of an informant's response and construct a suitable response. Secondary to this, other factors such as the logistics of organising the interviews with the added complication of implementing training and imposing the burden of the research on others made the multiple interviewer model impractical.

While it has been stated that a multiple interviewer model was not implemented due to its impracticality, the chosen method was not perceived as significantly compromising the data collection. The informants were people considered to be friends or acquaintances, or the friends of close friends. While this in itself presents a particular possibility of bias I am under the impression that the informants were honest and desired to express their opinions on a subject matter not identified as a taboo but rather one inexplicably linked to their present circumstances, and deemed as not only important to the community at large but also one which defines the concepts associated with Tibet and the Tibetan culture and language. It was perceived that informants would either be willing to share their opinions freely or would resort to stating opinions they believed to reflect acceptable, commonly held views in the TDD. Therefore in either case discernible information would be given regarding the concepts of language attitudes and the identity constructs of the members of the TDD.

When it was not possible for me to conduct the interview by myself a translator was enlisted to help. This was necessary as it was not considered appropriate to conduct interviews with

only English-speaking TDD members. Furthermore having another person present created a new interview variable which would allow for comparisons between that and the single interviewer dynamic. Of the 56 interviews, 32 were conducted without a translator and 24 with one of five translators. It had been my experience when developing the questionnaires that the best translators were not those professing to be such, but friends and associates connected to The Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet were more willing to help me achieve the specific goals I had. All of the interviews were conducted with a translated version of the 45 principal questions used in each interview. I met the main three translators who took part in the research prior to their first interview and spent some time going through the questions, making sure they understood each one and how the interviews would be structured around these principal questions and develop from them. The ethical component of the research was explained in detail, and all translators were directed on how to execute the necessary task of notifying the informants of the ethical aspects that required an explanation at the beginning of the interviews.

The interviews took place at a number of locations in McLeod Ganj (Upper Dharamsala). The main objective was to conduct the interview in private where possible. Interviews were conducted in one of the following locations; my home, the home of the informant, the home of a friend, on the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet premises, at the informants' workplace, or in a restaurant/café location either advantageous to the informant or convenient for lack of disturbance. When arranging interviews I endeavoured to organise a time and location which was most convenient for the informant and secondly, when appropriate, the translator.

Interviews were conducted to a particular procedure. Firstly the informant would be thanked for his/her participation, then the audio equipment would be activated and a standardised statement of ethics notifying the informant that the audio recording would be confidential and exclusively for my research, and that they would remain completely anonymous. Informants

were notified that at any time in the future it would be my obligation to delete their interview should they wish. Informants were then informed that they would be provided with a copy of the interview if he/she so desired. If the informant did not know me well I introduced myself, told them of my affiliation to the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) and my present circumstances regarding the conducting of field work on the Tibetan language. Where it was seen as relevant during the interview I would talk in more detail about the specifics of my research.

The interviews were structured so as to fit with certain perceived requirements. 45 principal questions were used, split into four sections of demographics, language, language attitude and identity. This not only allowed each interview to be structured in a way which would aid in comparison with others but would provide relevance to the subject matter involved. The principal questions were used to introduce topics, then based on informant responses follow-up questions were asked to expand and explain the expressed opinions. The principal questions acted as anchors helping to keep the interviews secured to the subject matter and therefore remain relevant, yet the design of the interview was centred on an open interview structure and that of eliciting further responses to initial informant responses often enquiring as to why an informant had such an opinion until the line of questioning was exhausted. Depending on the responses of the informants and the nature of the follow-up questions, not all of the principal questions were always asked.

The 45 principal questions were a development of my four initial research questions based on the enquiry into informants' linguistic repertoires, perceived intelligibility among speakers of different Tibetic varieties, and informants' language attitudes and identity constructs. Certain principal questions were particularly open (for example; identity question one; How would you define your identity?) so as to avoid influence or the introduction of certain themes therefore emphasising informant response-led enquiry. While it was hoped that this method

would allow for natural, authentic responses, it did mean that some of the questions were regarded as particularly open and therefore may affect the informant with a sense of the abstract and confusion in how best to answer.

While it is reasonable to accept that some responses could be categorised as motivated by a desire to respond in a typically or socially acceptable way, this societal influence was not stigmatised as a limitation due to the assertion that it was still authentic and therefore representative.

3.3.1.3 Verbal-guise test

A VGT was used to collect data concerning TDD members' attitudes towards a variety of Amdo Tibetan, Kham Tibetan, Utsang Tibetan and Shejak Tibetan. Although the questionnaire data suggested that the non-Tibetic varieties of English and Hindi were also spoken comprehensively in the TDD, the decision was made to use these four Tibetic varieties as they not only were clearly associated with the prominent intra-Tibetan Cholka-sum and diasporic place of birth identity constructs, but questionnaire and interview data results suggest that even if informants did not have these varieties in their repertoires they would still be aware of their presence in the TDD. While other aspects of the research elicited information regarding non-Tibetic varieties and Tibetic varieties for the purpose of comparison, the VGT data collection technique was used to focus on the comparability of Tibetic elements and develop the enquiry into inter-Tibetan group dynamics.

The question as to whether language attitude can be objectively measured is controversial, however this field of research and the various methods that claim to elicit attitudinal responses has been comprehensively reviewed and critiqued (cf. Agheyisi and Fishman 1970,

Potter and Wetherell 1987 *et al*). A VGT is a variation of a matched-guise test, a sociolinguistic experiment technique, first used by Wallace Lambert (cf. Lambert *et al* 1960). Both tests are used to elicit indirect measurements of language attitudes primarily by social psychological researchers (Ryan et al 1984 p137). VGTs and MGTs present informants with a number of voices that they evaluate principally in regards to status or solidarity traits. MGTs use one speaker who impersonates a variety of different people from regions or classes, whereas the VGT uses actual speakers of those groups. The use of VGT instead of the MGT does dilute the strength of the MGT technique, as the introduction of multiple speakers inevitably introduces other speaker-related variables (Cavallaro and Ng 2009 p145).

According to Garrett (2010 p57) a VGT can be beneficial in demonstrating 'the role of language code and style choice in impression formation,' which appeared ideal to enable an understanding of the degree of status and solidarity assigned to these prominent Tibetic varieties in the TDD. Consequently an understanding of informant perspectives on these varieties would indicate aspects involved in the motivations for maintaining the multiple Tibetic varieties (Li 2006 p21).

Criticism of VGTs and MGTs centres on reliability, when only attitudes towards accents are being investigated (Hiraga 2005). This was an issue of particular relevance regarding the voices of the four speakers used. Therefore the two short paragraphs that the speakers were recorded saying were only considered appropriate once a number of TDD members from the four place of birth categories that were the same as the speakers (the three Cholka-sum regions plus the TDD Shejak) had agreed that the phrases were possible representations of utterances a fellow intra-Tibetan group member may say. Tournadre and Jiatso (2001 p50) assert that the foremost distinctions between the varieties of the Tibetan language are phonological, lexical and syntactic. However in the TDD the Tibetic variety convergence is a concept TDD members are aware of in their own and other individual's speech practices.

Therefore, the topics of 'how to make *thukpa*'[34] and 'a description of Tibetan bread' were considered topics where informants would have a number of linguistic variations available in their repertories. The phrases were confirmed as being 'authentic' to numerous TDD members and the speakers whose voices were recorded were also recorded saying the phrases multiple times until each one was perceived to be a naturally spoken phrase.

The accent variable was considered an appropriate variable to measure TDD members' attitudes. Eckert (2009 p136) reports 'a regular stratification of features by socioeconomic class, in which the use of local and regional phonological features, and of non-standard grammatical features correlates inversely with socioeconomic status.' While Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973 p457-458) assert 'the Welsh accent can also serve as a marker of ethnic identity […] the mere possession of a Welsh accent was as effective in eliciting a favourable reaction from (Welsh) subjects as speaking the language itself.' Therefore, it was considered that the difference in accent would be sufficient enough for informants to recognise regional difference and evaluate the speakers' voices.

In the initial stages of the VGT conception both female and male voices were used, but as the female speakers varied in age considerably only the male speakers were used. Therefore, in an attempt to elicit the perceived complexities of informants' attitudes the two audio records (audio 1; how to make *thukpa,* and audio 2; a description of Tibetan bread) were used. Two audio recordings were employed to establish if the results would be consistent or if informants would report contradictions with both methodological implications and developing an understanding of informants' responses forming the motivation for the design.

The decision to use a VGT data collection technique as opposed to a MGT technique appeared advantageous for multiple reasons. The apparent advantage of a MGT is the

[34] Tibetan noodle soup.

accountability of a variety of variables which are controlled by using the same speaker, yet it was believed that in this particularly context this would only be of limited benefit compared to using 'real' speech. Garrett (2010 p58) supports this premise of the value of using accent authenticity, highlighting the potential problematic issue regarding the matched-guise format that it may not be possible to replicate regional intonation patterns and mimicking authenticity, with informants possibly perceiving the voice as anomalous. In conjunction with this there was also an ethical issue which may have impacted on my fieldwork. Although I was aware that a MGT may, in an extreme case, produce animosity at the notion of being 'tricked' and the knowledge of this by TDD members would impact negatively on my research, the primary reason was an awareness that I was an outsider and therefore was required to be discernibly ethical in my relations with TDD members in a research context.

The VGT was conducted in the TDD during August and September 2012. Informants were tested individually and in groups of up to nine. During the period of the execution of the VGT I visited informants through appointment, however I carried all the relevant audio equipment and forms and attempted to execute 'pop up' tests with potential informants I met during my daily activities. In total 166 informants participated yet ten sets of results were removed due to erroneous responses (using multiple responses on a number of the rating scales instead of one response). The objective was not merely to report on how informants as a whole responded to the four speakers but to utilise the place of birth variable so comparisons between how informants perceived the Tibetic variety associated with their place of birth identity construct and the three other Tibetic voices.

Four TDD members provided the voices for the test. They were chosen as the Tibetic variety they spoke was considered typical of the intra-Tibetan group associated with that voice. The Utsang and Amdo speakers had what other TDD members described as 'good dbus-gtsang-skad' and 'good a-mdo-skad', and the Khampa speaker's voice had been described as 'typical

Khampa' and 'if someone hears his voice, very quickly they will know he is Khampa.' The Shejak speaker's voice was considered acceptable as he was born and raised in the TDD. All of the speakers were male and similar in age. At the design stage it was considered advantageous to use two different voices for each of the four speaker categories, yet in an attempt to limit and control a number of variables this was modified to using only one speaker per category but having each speaker record two audio segments. At the design stage the speakers read two passages. The first, which became audio one, was four sentences on how to make thukpa, and the second, which became audio two, was four sentences describing a loaf of Tibetan bread. Excluded from the VGT were the speakers reading two extracts from the 14th Dalai Lama's first autobiography entitled My Land, My People first published in 1962 and a number of Tibetan words. Both were eliminated from the VGT to make it as concise as possible and to represent an excerpt of spoken language.

Fifteen standardised semantic differential traits typical to VG and MG testing were used, yet during the design stage all traits were trialled with a number of TDD members from each intra-Tibetan group associated with the four voices used to establish that informants would be familiar with the traits. The two previous data collection techniques had endeavoured to establish TDD informant language attitudes towards various Tibetic varieties regarding the status and stigmatisation on issues focusing on purity and utility yet this chapter shifts the emphasis onto 15 traits associated with;

- Cognition (intelligent, sharp minded, educated)
- Trust (trustworthy, honest)
- Manners (polite, respect, rude)
- Attainment (hardworking, successful, wealthy)
- Affability (likeable, friendly, kind, helpful)

The variety and variation of these traits were used so a more complex understanding of language attitudes of TDD members could be established to correspond with the complex Tibetic variety circumstances in the TDD. In contrast with the other two data collection techniques, the indirect nature of the VGT technique allowed for an alternative method that would benefit triangulation of the language attitude data in the overall analysis.

The procedure for the VGT involved instructing informants to fill out the demographic section as swiftly as possible before informing them they were going to hear four different voices and were asked to rate each voice on the four pages of traits lists with each trait structured on a seven-point Likert scale from, for example, 'polite' to 'impolite'. Following the end of audio one informants were told they were going to hear four speakers again. The test results were collected as quickly as possible then informants were notified of the ethical aspects of the test and further information on the procedure and motivation of the test. An appropriate amount of time was allotted to allow informants to express any opinion on the test and ask any further questions. Often informants were eager to state the intra-Tibetan group identity of the speakers without prompting and found this objective simple.

It is worth noting that while the verbal-guise question sheet stated informants could state 'other' in the place of birth section, the procedure adopted for the VGT as a whole was one where informants were instructed through the initial stages, as with the actual VGT itself, at a rapid pace (the speed of the VGT not only ensured that another variable was controlled, but informants would give responses without contemplating the issue for too long). Considering the variety of responses in the questionnaire surveys where the question was similarly presented but without the verbal instruction it is quite possible this verbal element defined the outcome yet the procedure was nonetheless perceived to be beneficial to the test as a whole and the categorisation outcome, unimpeded to a significant degree by the execution.

The results of the data analysis for the VGT were presented in two ways. Firstly, descriptive statistics were used to rank the informants' ratings of the four speakers regarding the 15 traits. The overall VGT response data and place of birth categorisation of results were presented in this way, showing which speakers were ranked the highest and lowest, but also which place of birth informants ranked the 4 speakers highest and lowest. Secondly correlation analysis was done to show which statistically significant correlations existed between the informants, the place of birth, gender and age variables and the responses to the speakers in the VGT.

3.4 Sampling categorisation

The place of birth variable was used as the primary independent variable in the research. Age and gender classifications were applied to data analysis. However the saliency of the place of birth identity construct and the association with Tibetic varieties made it a clear choice. The data from the QS and the interviews confirmed the decision. To develop the theme of identity informants were asked a specific question in the QS and VGT designed to elicit salient and multiple item responses regarding identity constructs. QS informants defined their identity construct in 38 different ways, 13 of which were single item cases. Overall 295 informants (37.4%) assigned themselves to single item cases. The single item case of Tibetan was the largest single item QS informant response with 25.3% of all QS informant responses. All other single item cases in QS were of 3.2% or smaller. Therefore these results suggest that a single Cholka-sum or diasporic identity is invalid as a general, comprehensive identity construct. Indeed, the majority of informants in QS (62.6%) state having multiple identities. The Tibetan plus one Cholka-sum regional construct featured prominently. 13% of QS informants stated that they were Tibetan and Utsang, 18.5% Tibetan and Kham and 9.5%

Tibetan and Amdo. 5.1% of QS informants stated that they were Tibetan and Shejak and 10.4% Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak.

The uniformity of the identity construct sizes were consistent in all the Cholka-sum place of birth categories in QS. The pan-Tibetan with the associated Cholka-sum construct was the largest identity construct case in each of the Cholka-sum place of birth categories followed by the single case Tibetan construct followed by the single case Cholka-sum construct associated with the place of birth category. The largest identity construct for informants from the India place of birth category was Tibetan (24.1%), followed by Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak (23.1%) and Tibetan and Shejak (12%). The next five largest constructs were Tibetan and Utsang (11.7%) and Tibetan, Khampa and Shejak (5%), Utsang (4.7%), Tibetan and Khampa (4.7%) and Shejak (13, 4.3%). The repartition of the largest identity construct categories allow for the suggestion that while the single item Tibetan construct is popular among the diasporic informants large numbers mirrored the Cholka-sum informants by assigning the pan-Tibetan plus single or even multiple intra-Tibetan identity constructs.

The majority of the VGT informants (58.3%) stated that they have multiple identities. While the single item case of Tibetan (29.5%) was the largest overall the subsequent 3 cases in order of size were all multiple item cases; 19.2% stated that they were Tibetan and Khampa, 17.3% Tibetan and Utsang, 14.1% Tibetan and Shejak. Overall 65 informants (41.7%) assigned themselves to one of five single item cases, with the multiple cases making up another 5. The pan-Tibetan with the relevant Cholka-sum identities were the largest categories for Amdo (47.1%), Kham (71.4%) and Utsang (64.3%), followed by Tibetan for Amdo (35.3%), Kham (16.7%) and Utsang (28.6%). In the India category the largest of the 4 sub-categories with 41.5% was the multiple case group Tibetan and Shejak followed by Tibetan (35.8%), Shejak (15.1%) and Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak (7.5%).

Both the overall gender and age results are similar to that of the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009 for the Tibetan Dharamsala population leading to the summation that the research sample is representative of the TDD as a whole regarding these two concepts.

3.5 Data analysis procedures

Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) software was used for the analysis of quantitative data. The demographic data was expressed using frequency and descriptive statistics, and symmetric measures tests with place of birth and gender and age. Spearman's rho correlation tests using gender and age within the place of birth categories as well as the data produced by the questions from QS and the VGT data were used to test the non-orthogonality between gender and age and place of birth. Statistically significant correlations with two-tailed tests of significance were found to exist between gender and a number of other aspects of the research. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were also used to test for statistical significance. Frequency and descriptive statistics were also used to present the informant-reported linguistic and Tibetic varieties present in the TDD. Finally Spearman's rho was used throughout the research to test for statistical correlations.

ANOVA is used to analyse the differences between group means and their associated procedures. ANOVA provides a statistical test to establish if the means of several groups are equal and therefore generalizable. The data produced by the VGT and QS that were tested for statistically significant correlations were ordinal (trait rating and assigning levels of agreement and disagreement) therefore the Spearman rho correlation coefficient was employed. Spearman's rho correlation coefficient is a nonparametric measure of statistical dependence between two variables. It assesses how well the relationship between two variables can be described using a monotonic function. If there are no repeated data values, a

perfect Spearman correlation of +1 or −1 occurs when each of the variables is a perfect monotone function of the other. Unless otherwise stated the reporting of this analysis assumes the correlation to be positive.

There were several aspects which were identified as beneficial regarding the use of Spearman's rho correlation coefficient. Non-parametric statistics make no assumptions about the probability distributions of the variables being assessed. The ordinal nature of the data referred to not only informants' responses in that the data were ranked but also that there was no clear numerical interpretation structuring the question design nor the informants' responses. Therefore, the analysis does not apply a greater amount of assumptions of the variables as with parametric tests, and is therefore considered more robust.

Foster (1998 p181) defines the concept of correlation:

"A correlation expresses the extent to which two variables vary together. A positive correlation means that as one variable increase so does the other. […] A negative correlation is when one variable increases as the other decreases […] Correlations vary between -1.00 and +1.00, a correlation of 0.00 means there is no relationship between the two variables."

The level of probability typically used in social science research is 0.05 according to Miller *et al* (2002 p118). However, this research indicates the level of probability at both 0.05 and 0.01. The key maxim in correlation testing is that correlation does not equal causation. The nature of the research meant that it was sufficient to correlate the independent variables with the dependent variables as the data for the most part is informant-reported and the subject well within the realm of social science; meaning that the research would not assume to account for the complexity of variables which influence the subject matter.

In chapter six tables showing the means of how informants from the four major place of birth categories rated the four Tibetic varieties of amdo-skad, kham-skad, utsang-skad and shejak-

skad using the 15 traits is presented in conjunction with the correlation analysis. This was seen as beneficial to present not only the consistent similarity of responses but also the rank order and linear nature of responses. In conjunction with the in depth statistical analysis the research sought to present an aspects of the data in its simplest form to avoid imposing possible extrapolating judgments particularly due to the fact that the ratings of the four Tibetic varieties produced data which assigned results of a particular Tibetic variety that were relative to the other three in the test. Therefore in these instances a standard error of the mean was not used as the results focused on the relationship between the means and not the meta-structure of a particular mean.

Correlation analysis in conjunction with basic mean results and ethnographic data, as opposed to focusing primarily on quantitative procedures which would allow for claims of precise causation of the phenomena in question, were employed for two particular reasons. Firstly, the saliency of TDD members' identities, awareness of language, language attitudes and the politicisation of culture meant that the research could take the position that reporting these aspects in broad and simple terms offered greater insight into the elements specific to the socio-culture dynamics of the TDD. Secondly, the research takes the position that the complexity of social science research is not found in the exactitudes of focusing directly on the 'truths' produced by quantitative analysis. Criticism of social science can often ridicule its label as a 'science'. This view of deprecating social science is perhaps correct to recognise a difference compared to the nature sciences, yet perhaps in its consternation of the subject it ignores the idea that there could be a theoretical inadequacy to assume an overtly precise, and possible one dimensional, ability to label social phenomena can be a capable instrument to measure the subtleties of the social world and give an insightful account of its complexities.

3.5.1 Data presentation

Due to the word length requirement and the considerable amount of data produced it has not been possible to include all the aspects of the data in detail in the thesis. This resulted in the decision to divide the relevant tables between the thesis chapters and the appendices. Where it has not been possible to include a relevant table the reader is informed of the location of the table in the relevant appendix. Furthermore, the depth and variety of informant responses dictated that a particular result was often presented in a broad form of a figure which allowed the reader to acquire an 'eyeball' judgement. Certain figures particularly relating to the number of linguistic and Tibetic repertoires informants reported as being present in the TDD should be viewed as merely presenting an impression of the sheer variety with the relevant and detailed tables available in the appendices.

Finally, in tables in both the thesis and the appendices the percentage and valid percentage is often reported, and both terms are used in the text. The term 'valid percentage' is used to denote the percentage relating to the informants that answered a particular question. For example, while there were 94 QS Amdo informants occasionally not all of these informants answered a particular question therefore the valid percentage is taken from all of those informants that did. When discussing the data in overall terms the 'missing' category statistics are also included.

3.6 Validity and reliability

In attempting to describe the abstract elements and execute rigorous research the key element is accountability. The intention of employing a mixed methods approach enables the quantitative aspects of the research to follow standardised perceptions of procedure and

analysis while the qualitative approach enables and incorporates post-modernity perception. This post-modern filter allows the research to claim validity and reliability using standardised models of concepts of data collection techniques yet refrains from depicting results as absolute truth. Bryman (2008 p683) argues that post-modernism leaves us with an acute sense of uncertainty, yet perhaps this more adequately describes the process of embarking upon a new conceptualisation. Post-modernity not only allows for more complexity but provides us with an opportunity to take a position that validates the research through claims of authenticity but is also aware of the subjectivity and limitations of our ability to not comprehend the complexity of, in this case, sociolinguistic elements.

Agheyisi and Fishman (1970 p150) highlight the problematic nature of the validation of attitude studies due to 'the very nature of attitudes as properties of the psychological or mental process'. While validating the behavioural component of attitudes is generally perceived to be less problematic than cognitive and affective components this research identifies the positive and negative aspects of the TDD in attitudinal results. The politicisation and abstractionism of the TDD are concepts which not only make TDD members aware of their language attitudes but also make them salient features of a TDD member's existence. Conversely, the same concepts may indoctrinate and socialise TDD members with, perhaps, the opinion of individuals profoundly influenced by the community's *raison d'être* of cultural being and preservation and the political narratives of the Tibet issue and the diasporic Tibetan authorities.

The multiple methods approach allows for the assertion that there is confidence in internal validity reflecting the "logic of triangulation" according to Denzin (1997 p28), provided the instruments, techniques, data, findings and explanations as developed and executed competently (Hitchcock and Hughes (1995 p105). The issue of external validity focuses on the questionnaire providing a large enough random sample to be generalizable. Confidence in

the quality of the sample was assured by the random approach of TDD members throughout the community. The samples were identified as large enough to be adequately representative and the saliency of the major outcomes of the research allowed for the conclusion that the results were generalizable. The VGT data also employed a random sampling technique and also produced a number of salient outcomes which the research focused on thus adding to the generalizability of the results.

Internal validity focuses on what Bryman (2008 p32) terms as the 'causal impact' of the independent variable on the dependent variable. Again, the inductive nature of the results allowed the development of the place of birth variable to come to light through its saliency in the data. As the Tibetic varieties that were assumed to be most associated with the place of birth variables due to the geo-socio-construction of the Tibetic varieties were confirmed as such by the data collected there were clear delineations in how informants defined the Tibetic variety most associated with their identity construct and those others present in the TDD. While the research must recognise the complexity of socio-cultural items, actions and interpretations the focus of the research to report on informants' attitudes on the linguistic circumstances in the TDD drew on their awareness of these circumstances and their intra-Tibetan group association. Finally, the quantitative data analysis focuses on identifying possible statistically significant correlations among variables thereby identifying the existence of the relationship and details of how informants report language attitudes and identity constructs but do not attempt to account for causality.

A key aspect which must be addressed is that the researcher is not Tibetan and has spent only two years residing in McLeod Ganj. The emphasis on collecting data which highlighted the informant-led perspective in combination with the inductive approach allows the research to focus on the salient features of the data, and is therefore not concerned with the effects of a bias created by the 'outsider factor'.

Rubio (2002 p22) indicates a potential problem regarding interaction between the Western researcher and the Tibetan refugee highlighting specifically the 'halo effect' of Tibetan informants. I would not deny that this impacts on my research, but it is an issue I was aware of at the conception stage and steps were taken to manage this situation. In particular interviews were conducted with people I knew well, friends of people I knew well or people connect to the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet Association. I have worked for this association for two years now and the (relative) longitude of my stay in Dharamsala helped me to collect opinions which I hope were sincere. I would also talk after each interview with the translator if one had been present and enquire as to their opinions of the views expressed by the informant. The TDD is a community aware of its political consciousness. A comment made to me by a supervisor of this project was that on two occasions an informant expressed views which were labelled "ideological platitudes". I would not deny the validity of this interpretation, yet while a sentiment expressed by an informant may be clichéd it does not necessarily deny its sincerity. The two statements in this case were expressed by an ex-political prisoner whom I know particularly well, and therefore I suggest to the reader that if they find certain opinions trivial they should keep in mind the context in which they have been expressed. This is an aphorism I have attempted to apply when interviewing and analysing the interview data.

Oppenheim (1992) asserts that reliability is hardly separable from validity. Reliability will be addressed through the use of standardised questionnaires and procedures, and a semi-structured question set for the interviews. Bryman (2008 p264) identifies observer fatigue and lapses in attention as factors which may affect reliability; therefore it is seen as beneficial to record the interviews so that references to the data can be double checked. It is also worth emphasising the collection of metadata and extensive field notes to accompany the research instruments and fieldwork. Translations were checked by numerous personal contacts as well

as professional ones and the Tibetan used in the data collection techniques and the Tibetan of informants' responses was cross-checked extensively, monitoring for 'translator comparability' (Li 2006 p477).

Further claims for external reliability yet accounting for the restricted period of time spent in the TDD relate to the researcher's association with the Gu Chu Sum Movement of Tibet Association for ex-political prisoners and their families. This association with the organisation and the foundation of personal and professional relationships with students and staff enables the research to develop social networks in the community and allow for TDD members of all intra-Tibetan groups to make sincere appraisals of the research techniques and data collected during the fieldwork.

3.7 Ethics

Informed consent, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality are of key importance in this research. Hitchcock & Hughes (1995 p51) propose a number of ethical procedures for conducting research, the most relevant to this study being;

- Explain as clearly as possible the aims, objectives, and methods of the research to informants.
- The researcher must allow subjects the right to refuse to participate or withdraw from the research.
- The researcher must demonstrate how confidentiality is to be built into the research.

Informants were briefly informed of the research aims, objectives, and methods before participating in addition to the ethical issues regarding an interview. The ethical issues of research were also briefly mentioned before the VGT. Therefore, once the VGT was

complete the research aims were then told to the informants and the ethical issues reiterated. At the end of the QS was a brief statement assuring QS informants of the confidentiality and anonymity of the research.

Informants were notified that they had the right to refuse to take part in this research at any stage, and to have their contributions removed on request. Particular emphasis was placed upon expressing the concept that informant responses were confidential and their identity would remain anonymous, and that the data collected would only be used in my research.

3.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter the methodological issues have been presented. The research uses a mixed methods approach combining quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques. The three research instruments are a questionnaire survey, a verbal-guise test and an interview, therefore both direct and indirect methods of collecting data could be combined. The research is inductive in nature drawing theory from observations of the data, while the perceived sensitivity of research in the TDD required the researcher to be particularly aware of the ethical issues, in addition to those of the reliability and validity of the data.

Chapter Four: The identity constructs of the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The aim of this chapter is to present the themes associated with identity constructs in the TDD. Therefore this chapter begins by presenting the demographics of the informants and developing evidence for the validation of place of birth as the primary independent variable. It then contextualises these variables by reporting on content, difference and environment. Data from all three data collection techniques (QS, VGT, and interviews) are used.

4.1 Demographics

According to the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009 by the Planning Commission of the Central Tibetan Administration the population of Tibetans in Dharamsala in 2009 was 13,701.[35] Therefore using a confidence level of 95% with a population of 13,701 the sample size of the QS (801) produces a confidence interval of 3.36. 156 informants participated in the VGT. Using a confidence level of 95% with a population of 13,701 the sample size of the VGT (156) produces a confidence interval of 7.8. A confidence interval figure was not produced for the qualitative interviews.

The initial objective, which remained prominent throughout the data collection, was to collect as large a sample as possible. Potential informants were approached randomly, through known associates, individually and through organisations' administrations. As mentioned, the

[35] This figure incorporates a number of areas perhaps considered beyond the main concentration of the TDD population. As well as Dharamsala forming both the main category and sub-category the following sub-categories were included; Kangra, Gopalpur, Sahra, Garo Sudher, Sidbari, Sidhpur, Trilokpur, Chamunda, Gangkyi, Kotwali, Gamru & LTCV, Khanyara, Mcleod Ganj, Forsyth Ganj, Nadi, Dhari & Yol cant.

qualitative nature of the interviews renders the issue of sample size irrelevant. The size of the VGT sample is seen as adequate and the QS as being representative of the TDD population. There were similarities with the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009 by the Planning Commission data regarding ratio of gender and age that helped validate this point.

4.1.1 Gender

Table 4.1 depicts the frequency distribution and percentages of informant responses between the two gender categories available. While the interview results depict a substantially uneven distribution, the QS and the VGT results depict percentages that are similar to those in the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009, which report that 55.6% of the Tibetan population in Dharamsala were male and 44.4% female in 2009 and 55.2% were male and 44.8% were female in 1998.[36] The trend of male bias is constant throughout this research and is similar in this aspect to the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009.

Table 4.1 The frequency of informants' responses to gender categorisation from all data collection techniques

Data collection technique	Female	Male	Unfilled	Totals
QS	46.1% (369)	52.9% (424)	1% (8)	801
Interviews	30.4% (17)	69.6% (39)	0	56
VGT	42.9% (67)	57.1% (89)	0	156

[36] Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile 2009 by the Planning Commission page16.

4.1.2 Age

Table 4.2 depicts the age categorisation of informants for each data collection technique. Again, the descriptive statistics of the age of informants show a specific trend with the mean age between 25 and 32 years.

Table 4.2 The descriptive statistics of the age of informants from all data collection techniques

Data collection technique	N	Minimum age	Maximum age	Mean age	Std. Deviation
QS	736	10.0	79.0	25.5761	8.72636
Interviews	56	21.0	47.0	31.9821	6.54631
VGT	156	16.0	55.0	28.3269	8.57164

The Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile (2009) categorised the age of their informants into 16 categories ranging from 0 to ≥75 years with each category, apart from the final category of ≥75, containing a 5 year age range plus a category for unspecified responses. The five largest categories in order of size were as follows; first 25–29 with 1900 informants (13.9% of the Tibetan Dharamsala population), second 20–24 with 1667 (12.2%), third 10–14 with 1612 (11.8%), fourth 15–19 with 1481 (10.8%) and fifth 30–34 with 1454 (10.6%). Therefore, according to the Demographic Survey of Tibetans in Exile (2009) 59.3% of the Tibetan Dharamsala population in 2009 was aged between 10 and 34 years.

4.1.3 Place of birth

The primary justification in the research itself for focusing on the regional Cholka-sum classification as a valid identity construct for informants born in Tibet arose from the results

of the pilot questionnaire. Informants were asked to state their hometown, region and country of birth. Responses yielded 180 different cases from 440 valid informant responses, with informants choosing to answer both fully and partially according to the above criteria. Informant responses included specific place names such as Lhasa (36 informants 8.1%) or Dharamsala (45 informants 10.2%), regions such as Kham (22 informants 5%) or Amdo (31 informants 7%), specific places and wider geographic areas such as Yushu, Tibet (3 informants 0.7%) or Shimla, India (5 informants 1.1%), specific place names and regions such as Lithang, Kham (5 informants 1.1%) or Labrang, Amdo (2 informants 0.5%), or wider geographic areas such as Tibet (46 informants 10.5%) or India (18 informants 4.1%).

Of the 211 informants from the three Cholka-sum categories of Utsang, Kham and Amdo in the pilot questionnaire, 150 (71.1%) stated a Cholka-sum category in their response without further details (63 of the 67 informants in the Amdo category, 64 of the 73 informants in the Kham category, and 23 of the 71 informants in the Utsang category). Therefore the decision was made to categorise responses using the Cholka-sum criteria in conjunction with the broader categories of India, Nepal and Bhutan. While 'India' category informants had tended to respond to the question in more detail than those in the Cholka-sum categories, responses were considered to be diverse so if presented in its entirety the multiple delineation would distract from the research objectives. For the Shejak regional categorisation the decision was made to use the broad terms 'India', 'Nepal' and 'Bhutan' to create a working categorisation that adequately represented the group dynamic for functional manipulation of the data, yet without emphasis on defining the groups' identity construct. In addition, it is worth noting regarding identity construction that only 10.5% of valid informant responses from the pilot questionnaire stated their place of birth as 'Tibet'.

It must also be reiterated here that the labelling of informants using the Cholka-sum categorisation or the wider geographic areas of India, Bhutan and Nepal is not considered an

attempt to create a categorisation which adequately characterises the identity constructs of members of the TDD in absolute terms. This classification is representative at one level of analysis, but it must be emphasised that it is only feasible if viewed as an aspect of intra-Tibetan group identity within the Tibetan identity construct. A case in point is that of the India category. This is a useful label as it is able to clearly present the concept that these informants were born in the diaspora and not Tibet, which in turn is beneficial in describing an undisputable element of identity construction and providing the research with a practical delineation among informants for comparing linguistic repertoires and language attitudes, regardless of labels assigned to members of that group which may be considered pejoratively at a superficial level. The term 'India' does not signify an association with Indian national, ethnic or intra-group identity. The term is used here to indicate the diasporic location of birth without homogenising the diaspora, yet when there is no variation in the diasporic country of birth such as with the interview informants, the term Shejak is comprehensively employed.

Nonetheless, while QS was structured so that informants could tick one of the three Cholka-sum categories, the India category, or an 'other, please specify' category, those informants choosing the later where considerably too few to use in conjunction with the more substantial categories. The research does not disregard any articulated identity construct stated by the informants but restricts the presentation of the data to the major categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India on the majority of occasions. Where overall figures are presented all valid informant data is used. This is also the case when the Sanjo/Shejak delineation is employed, and any further depiction of the data not structured around the presentation of the four major categories.

Table 4.3 depicts the place of birth variables for each data collection technique. It is worth noting that in comparison the percentage of the Kham variable increases in QS and the interviews considerably, while the percentage of the India variable decreases considerably in

the interviews. Therefore these aspects must be taken into account when analysing the representative nature of QS and the interviews, yet generally the distribution of the informants into each place of birth category is fairly constant throughout the data collection techniques. 64.7% (101) of VGT informants and 84% (9) of interview informants were born in Tibet, yet (despite the variations in age and gender) 58.3% (460) of QS informants stated that they were born in Tibet and 41.7% (329) of QS informants stated that they were born in the Tibetan diaspora. An overall average of Tibet born informants therefore would be 67.1%, yet the size of the questionnaire sample suggests that those figures are more representative of the ratio of the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy.

Table 4.3 Place of birth variables in percentage form for the research date collection techniques

Data collection technique	N	Place of birth variables in percentage form								
		Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Tibet	India	Nepal	Bhutan	USA	Germany
QS	789	11.9%	28.6%	17.7%	-	38.1 %	2.2%	1.0%	0.3%	0.1%
Interviews	56	17.9%	42.9%	23.2%	-	16.1 %*	-	-	-	-
VGT	156	10.9%	26.9%	26.9%	-	34.0 %	-	1.3%	-	-

*Includes all Shejak diaspora constructs

4.1.3.1 Place of birth as an independent variable

The decision to use place of birth as the principal independent variable was made based on analytical tests using the other demographic variables' significant non-orthonology with the place of birth categorisation. Due to the perceived threat of factionalism in the diaspora intra-Tibetan group identity constructs based on types of Tibetanness are formed by intra-Tibetan group associations with Cholka-sum delineation regardless of gender and age. Other 'typical'

independent variable categories such as class, educational achievement or employment were seen as not relevant to the TDD as a whole or particularly significant to the concepts involved in this research.

4.1.3.1.1 Place of birth and gender

As mentioned above categories have higher numbers of male informants than female. Table 4.4 depicts the gender of QS informants set within the categorisation of place of birth. In the larger categories of Amdo, Kham and Utsang there are higher numbers of male informants than female (66% male to 33% female in the Amdo category, 59% to 40% Kham and 54% to 45% Utsang), while in the India category 56% of the informants were female and 43% male.

Table 4.4 Gender of QS informants according to place of birth categorisation

		Question 1: Gender			Total
		unfilled	Male	Female	
QS Question 3: Where were you born?	Amdo	1	62	31	94
	Kham	1	134	91	226
	Utsang	1	76	63	140
	India	3	130	168	301
	Nepal	1	8	8	17
	Bhutan	0	5	3	8
	USA	0	1	1	2
	Germany	0	1	0	1
Total		7	417	365	789

Table 4.5 depicts the gender of VGT informants set within the categorisation of place of birth. The three Cholka-sum categories have higher numbers of male informants than female (82% male to 18% female in the Amdo category, 60% to 40% Kham and 67% to 33% Utsang), while the India and Bhutan categories have higher numbers of female informants (58% female to 42% male in the India category and 100% female in the Bhutan category).

Table 4.5 Gender of VGT informants according to place of birth categorisation

		Question 1: Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
Q1 Question 3: What is your place of birth?	Utsang	28	14	42
	Kham	25	17	42
	Amdo	14	3	17
	India	22	31	53
	Bhutan	0	2	2
Total		89	67	156

Table 4.6 depicts the region of birth categorisation of interview informants cross-tabulated with the responses regarding the gender of informants. The low figures for female informants in the categories of region of birth for Amdo and Kham should be highlighted as this affects an even distribution of female informants overall.

Table 4.6 Gender of interview informants categorised by region of birth and the Shejak diaspora construct

Categorisation	Gender		Total
	Male	female	
Amdo	10	0	10
Kham	19	5	24
Utsang	6	7	13
Shejak	4	5	9
Total	39	17	56

The trend of an uneven distribution was present in all major place of birth categories of QS data apart from there being a larger percentage of female informants in the India category (66% male to 33% female in the Amdo category, 59% to 40% Kham and 54% to 45% Utsang, 43% to 56% in favour of female informants for the India category). In the interviews 100% of the Amdo informants were male. While the male informants outnumbered the female ones in the Kham category (79.2% male to 20.8% female) female informants outnumbered male ones in both the Utsang (46.2% male to 53.8% female) and Shejak (44.4% male to 55.6% female) categories.

Tables 4.7 and 4.8 show the symmetric measures tests using the gender and place of birth variables for both QS and the VGT results. The data from both QS and the VGT indicate approximate significance at ≤0.05. Therefore it can be stated that there is a non-orthogonality relationship between these variables allowing for the development of the concept of using place of birth as an independent variable.

Table 4.7 Symmetric measures test results using gender and place of birth variables in QS

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coefficient	.168	.002
N of Valid Cases		782	

Table 4.8 Symmetric measures test results using gender and place of birth variables in VGT

		Value	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Contingency Coefficient	.287	.007
N of Valid Cases		156	

Spearman's rho correlation tests using gender within the place of birth categories as well as the data produced by the questions from QS and the VGT data were conducted to test the non-orthogonality between gender and place of birth. Statistically significant correlations with two-tailed tests of significance were found to exist between gender and a number of other aspects of the research.

In QS there were statistically significant correlations at the 0.05 level;

- In the Kham category between gender and questions 11 (a scale rating question on the need to learn shejak-skad in Dharamsala), and 13 (a scale rating question on the need to learn other Tibetic varieties if dbus-gtsang-skad was already spoken).

- In the Utsang category between gender and questions 11 (a scale rating question on the need to learn shejak-skad in Dharamsala), and 13 (a scale rating question on the need to learn other Tibetic varieties if dbus-gtsang-skad was already spoken).
- In the India category between gender and question 15 (a scale rating of shejak-skad as the purest form of Tibetan).

A statistically significant correlation also existed at the 0.01 level in the Kham category between gender and question 12 (a scale rating question regarding the requirement of only having to have one Tibetic variety).

In the VGT there were the following statistically significant correlations at the 0.05 level;

- In the Amdo category between gender and audio 1 Utsang voice and rude trait results, and audio 2 Kham voice and intelligent and sharp minded trait results, and audio 2 Shejak voice and kind and rude trait results, and audio 2 Utsang voice and successful trait results.
- In the Kham category between gender and audio 1 Amdo voice and educated and helpful trait results, and audio 2 Kham voice and honest, kind and friendly trait results, audio 2 Utsang voice and helpful trait results.
- In the Utsang category between gender and audio 1 Shejak voice and rude trait results, audio 1 Utsang voice kind and rude trait results.
- In the India category between gender and audio 1 Amdo voice and educated and trustworthy trait results, and audio 1 Shejak voice and educated trait results, audio 2 Amdo voice and hardworking and successful trait results.

A statistically significant correlation also existed at the 0.01 level in the Kham category between gender audio 1 Amdo voice and respectful trait results.

While these correlations are worthy of further comment to develop an understanding of the subject matter it was decided that as there were only a small number of statistically significant correlations between gender and the 168 possible instances available (QS: 4 categories of place of birth x 12 questions correlated with gender, and the VGT: 4 categories of place of birth x 30 trait rate results of audio 1 and 2)[37] that the place of birth categorisation is validated as the prominent independent variable.

4.1.3.1.2 Place of birth and age

The QS Utsang and Bhutan categories have noticeably higher means for age (29.4 and 29.6 respectively) than the other place of birth categories (overall mean is 25.6) and the Shejak categories of India and Nepal have lower means (23.5 and 21.7 respectively) than the Sanjo categories. The VGT categories of Kham, Utsang and India all have means (29.1, 28.7 and 28.6 respectively) larger than the overall mean age of informants (28.3), yet the younger mean categories of Amdo and Bhutan (25.1 and 24.5) are significantly further from the overall mean (see appendix 1).

Overall interview informants' ages ranged from 21 to 47 years with an average mean age of 32, while the mean age for male informants was 32.6 and 30.7 for female informants. Khampas were the overwhelming majority with a total of 24 informants with the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy asymmetric with 9 Shejak and 47 Sanjo informants. As previously stated in this chapter the Shejak diaspora identity construct was used to indicate informants' place of birth as India. Throughout the field work the term 'Shejak' was not assumed to be directly comparable to that of the other three regional categories. As the research progressed, identifying the Shejak identity construct through elicitation appeared to be a requirement to

[37] QS has 16 questions in total therefore 12 plus the gender question were used with 3 questions not used (age, place of birth and a scale rating question regarding identity).

Figure 4.1 The age of QS informants categorised by place of birth

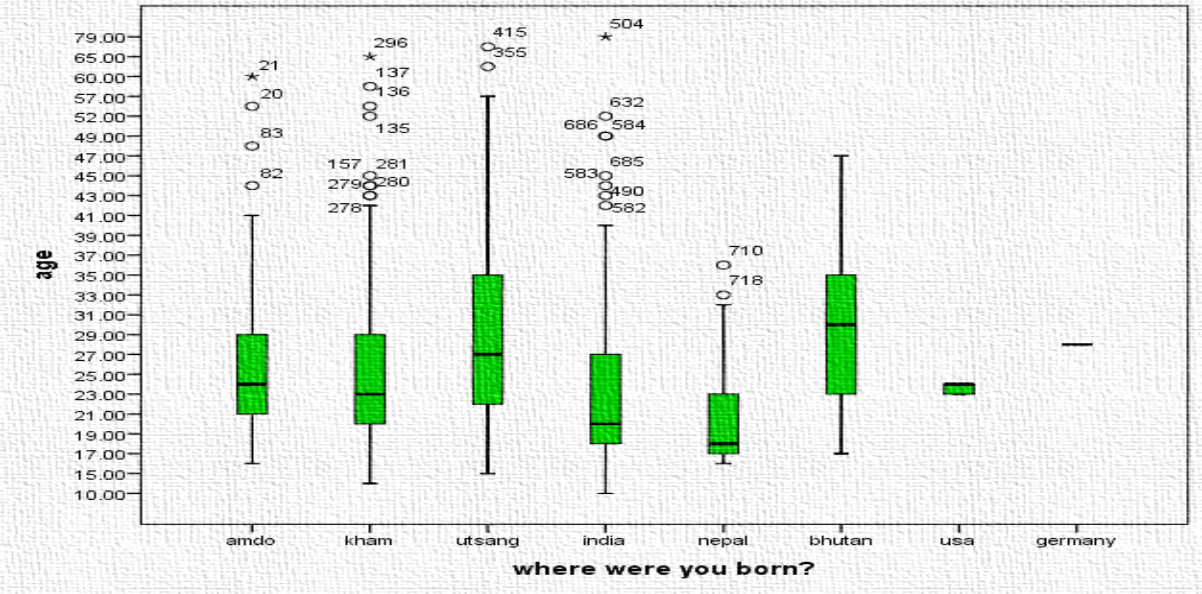
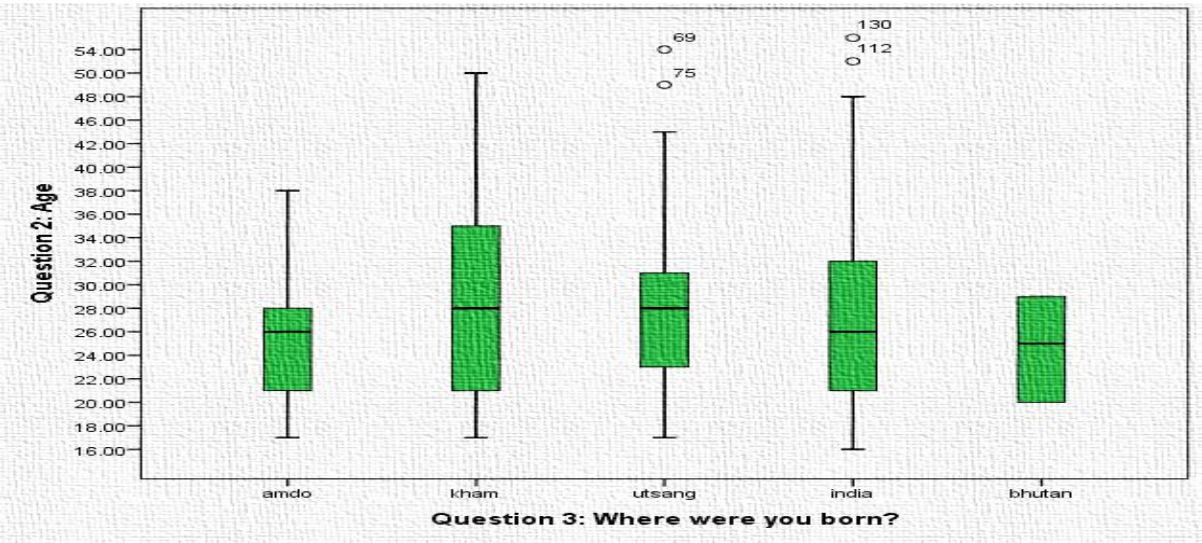


Figure 4.2 The age of VGT informants categorised by place of birth



establish an understanding of the results which are presented in this chapter and discussed further in chapter seven. While initially the Shejak term was used for its practicality and ostensibly identified as being a more relevant term than describing members of this group as 'Indian Tibetans' it is worth indicating at this stage that, through the opinions expressed by the informants, the term was identified as a valid Tibetan identity construct.

Figures 4.1 – 4.2 depict the age of informants categorised by place of birth from QS and the VGT in further detail. The figures allow for an eyeball judgment to be made that indicates that age does not radically change according to the place of birth categorisation and the majority of the informants are all of a particular age range with a sporadic number of much older informants.

Tables 4.9 – 4.10 show the ANOVA test results using age and place of birth variables for QS and the VGT. The ANOVA test for the QS and VGT results show no statistical significance at a substantial level.

Table 4.9 ANOVA test results using age and place of birth variables in QS

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1380.723	7	197.246	1.712	.103
Within Groups	90004.124	781	115.242		
Total	91384.847	788			

Table 4.10 ANOVA test results using age and place of birth variables in VGT

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	26.045	35	.744	.626	.944
Within Groups	142.641	120	1.189		
Total	168.686	155			

As it was less clear that a non-orthogonality relationship existed between age and the place of birth categories as compared to that of gender, the correlations between age in the place of birth categories and the data produced by the other questions became more significant. Statistically significant Spearman rho correlations with two-tailed tests of significance were found to exist between age and a number of other aspects of the research.

In the QS there were statistically significant correlations at the 0.01 level in the Amdo category between age and questions 6 (a question enquiring which Tibetic varieties the informant spoke), 10 (a scale rating question on dbus-gtsang-skad being the purest form of Tibetan), and 14 (a scale rating question on comprehending more Tibetic varieties than the informant spoke), in the Kham category between age and question 16 (a scale rating question on the ability to communicate in Tibetan with Tibetans that did not speak the same Tibetic variety as the informant) and in the India category between age and questions 11 (a scale rating question on the need to learn shejak-skad in Dharamsala) and 15 (a scale rating question on the equality of status of all Tibetic varieties).

A statistically significant correlation also existed at the 0.05 level in the Amdo category between age and questions 8 (informant reported data on competence of linguistic varieties) and 14 (a scale rating question on comprehending more Tibetic varieties than the informant spoke), in the Kham category between age and questions 7 (a question enquiring which linguistic varieties the informant spoke best), and 14 (a scale rating question on comprehending more Tibetic varieties than the informant spoke), and in the India category between age and question 8 (informant reported data on competence of linguistic varieties).

There were statistically significant correlations at the 0.05 level in the Amdo category between age and audio 1 Shejak voice and sharp-minded trait results, and audio 2 Utsang voice and rude trait results. Kham category between age and audio 2 Amdo voice and rude trait results, and audio 2 Kham voice and polite trait results. Utsang category between age and audio 2 Amdo voice and polite trait results. India category between age and audio 1 Kham voice and honest and friendly trait results, and audio 1 and Shejak voice and sharp minded trait results, and audio 2 Utsang voice and trustworthy, hardworking, friend and sharp-minded trait results.

A statistically significant correlation also existed at the 0.01 level in the India category between age and audio 1 Kham voice and trustworthy and kind trait results, and in audio 2 Utsang voice and helpful trait results. In the Amdo category between age and audio 2 Amdo voice and sharp-minded trait results and audio 2 Kham voice and trustworthy trait results. In the Utsang category between age and audio 2 Utsang voice and friendly trait results.

As with the correlation tests regarding gender categorisation the correlation tests involving age were considered worthy of further comment yet as only a relatively unsubstantial number of statistically significant correlations between age and the 168 possible instances available (QS: 4 categories of place of birth x 12 questions correlated with gender, and the VGT: 4 categories of place of birth x 30 trait rate results of audio 1 and 2)[38] the place of birth categorisation continued to be employed as the prominent independent variable in this chapter.

4.1.3.1.3 Place of birth and further aspects relating to identity

A question in both QS and VGT attempted to elicit responses regarding how informants identified themselves using the geo-cultural Cholka-sum and diasporic classifications. Informants were required to state what singular or multiple Tibetan and/or other identity constructs they assigned to themselves. 6 categories were available for informants to choose from. Informants were asked to tick *all* of the boxes that they thought applicable, stating whether they were Tibetan, Khampa, Amdowa, Utsang, Shejak and/or 'other, please specify', and ranking each item with the first choice or choices indicating the strongest association.

[38] QS has 16 questions in total therefore 12 plus the gender question were used with 3 questions not used (age, place of birth and a scale rating question regarding identity).

Tables 4.11[39] and 4.12 depict the results of this enquiry from the QS and the VGT informants reported in order of size starting with the largest category.

The QS informants assigned themselves to 38 different cases in total 13 of which were single item cases, while the VGT informants assigned themselves to 10 different cases, 5 of which were single item cases. As mentioned in chapter three the research recognised that the VGT informants were instructed rapidly through the initial phase of the test including this section and therefore recognises that this may have impacted on informant responses particularly regarding the inclusive nature of the informants' responses within the prescribed identity categories.

295 QS informants (37.4%) and 65 VGT informants (41.7%) assigned themselves to single item cases. In both these data collection technique results the largest single item case and only significant single item case relative to the overall salient responses was Tibetan (199 QS informants (25.3%) and 46 VGT informants (29.5%)). Small numbers of informants reported either Cholka-sum or Shejak single case identities (25 (3.2%) QS and 3 (1.9%) VGT informants stated Utsang, 22 (2.8%) and 5 (3.2%) respectively stated Khampa, 14 (1.8%) and 8 (5.1%) Shejak and 15 (1.9%) and 3 (1.9%) Amdo with a further 20 QS informants (2.5%) reported belonging to a further 8 single item cases).

[39] To clarify a few of the more possibly little known terms; Spiti is located in the north east of Himachal Pradesh, Monpa belong to the Kirati ethnic groups predominantly residing in Arunachal Pradesh and the Tibetan Autonomous Region, Derge is in Kham, Zongra is in the south of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, a Gopa is an unknown term in these context; '*pa*' translates as 'people' in Tibetan.

Table 4.11 QS informant identities from QS question four

Identity constructs	Frequency	Percentage	Identity constructs	Frequency	percentage
Tibetan	199	25.3	Tibetan, Khampa, Amdowa, Utsang	2	.3
Tibetan, Khampa	146	18.5	Spiti	2	.3
Tibetan, Utsang	103	13.1	Tibetan, Khampa, Amdowa, Utsang, Shejak	2	.3
Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak	82	10.4	Tibetan, Khampa, Shejak, Mongolian	1	.1
Tibetan, Amdowa	75	9.5	Tibetan, Utsang, Nepalese	1	.1
Tibetan, Shejak	40	5.1	Monpa in India	1	.1
Utsang	25	3.2	German	1	.1
Khampa	22	2.8	Tibetan, Derge	1	.1
Tibetan, Khampa, Shejak	19	2.4	Tibetan, Zongra Shejak	1	.1
Amdowa	15	1.9	Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak, Ladakhi	1	.1
Shejak	14	1.8	Utsang, New Tibetan	1	.1
Ladakhi	5	.6	Gopa	1	.1
Himalaya	4	.5	Tibetan, Nepalese	1	.1
Tibetan, Amdowa, Shejak	4	.5	Tibetan, Utsang, Delhi	1	.1
Bhutanese	3	.4	Tibetan, Khampa, Amdowa	1	.1
Indian	3	.4	Tibetan, Shejak, Nepalese	1	.1
Tibetan, Dasa	2	.3	Tibetan, Amdowa, Sanjo	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak	2	.3	Tibetan, Khampa, Ari-Khampa, Gya-gar Khampa	1	.1
Tibetan, Ladakhi	2	.3	Total	788	100.0
Tibetan, Utsang, Dasa	2	.3			

Table 4.12 VGT informant identities from VGT question four

Identity constructs	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan	46	29.5
Tibetan, Khampa	30	19.2
Tibetan, Utsang	27	17.3
Tibetan, Shejak	22	14.1
Tibetan, Amdowa	8	5.1
Shejak	8	5.1
Khampa	5	3.2
Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak	4	2.6
Amdowa	3	1.9
Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak	3	1.9
Total	156	100.0

The majority of the informants from both data collection techniques stated that they have multiple identities (493 QS informants (62.6%) and 91 VGT informants (58.3%)). While the single item case of Tibetan was the largest category the subsequent 5 categories for the QS data and 3 for the VGT data were all multiple item cases. 146 QS informants (18.5%) and 30 VGT informants (19.2%) stated that they were Tibetan and Khampa, 103 (13%) and 27 (17.3%) respectively described themselves as Tibetan and Utsang. 82 QS informants (10.4%) stated that they were Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak, 75 (9.5%) Tibetan and Amdo, and 40 (5.1%) Tibetan and Shejak with 22 VGT informants (14.1%) also identifying as Tibetan and Shejak.

Tables 4.13 to 4.20 depict the salient identity responses of informants within the categorisation of place of birth reported in order of size starting with the largest category. In total, for the QS data results there are 8 sub-categories in the Amdo category (93 valid

informant responses) and 10 for both the Kham (224 valid informant responses) and Utsang (138 valid informant responses) categories, and in the India category there were 23 sub-categories with a total of 299 valid informant responses. For the VGT data results there are 4 sub-categories in the India category (53 valid informant responses) and 3 for the Kham (42 valid informant responses), Utsang (42 valid informant responses) and Amdo (17 valid informant responses) categories all of which are depicted in the tables. In addition, there is also one identity category (Tibetan) for this section for the two Bhutan informants which is not depicted in the tables.

Table 4.13 QS informant identities from the Amdowa category

Identity constructs	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Amdowa	59	63.4
Tibetan	18	19.4
Amdowa	10	10.8
Combined remaining variations	6	6.4
Total	93	100.0

Table 4.14 QS informant identities from the Khampa category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Khampa	127	56.7
Tibetan	53	23.7
Khampa	22	9.8
Combined remaining variations	22	9.8
Total	224	100.0

Table 4.15 QS informant identities from the Utsang category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Utsang	64	46.4
Tibetan	48	34.7
Utsang	11	8
Combined remaining variations	15	10.9
Total	138	100.0

Table 4.16 QS informant identities from the India category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan	72	24.1
Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak	69	23.1
Tibetan, Shejak	36	12
Tibetan, Utsang	35	11.7
Tibetan, Khampa, Shejak	15	5
Utsang	14	4.7
Tibetan, Khampa	14	4.7
Shejak	13	4.3
Combined remaining variations	31	10.4
Total	299	100.0

Table 4.17 VGT informant identities from the Amdowa category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Amdowa	8	47.1
Tibetan	6	35.3
Amdowa	3	17.6
Total	17	100.0

Table 4.18 VGT informant identities from the Khampa category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Khampa	30	71.4
Tibetan	7	16.7
Khampa	5	11.9
Total	42	100.0

Table 4.19 VGT informant identities from the Utsang category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Utsang	27	64.3
Tibetan	12	28.6
Utsang	3	7.1
Total	42	100.0

Table 4.20 VGT informant identities from the India category

Identity categories	Frequency	Percentage
Tibetan, Shejak	22	41.5
Tibetan	19	35.8
Shejak	8	15.1
Tibetan, Utsang, Shejak	4	7.5
Total	53	100.0

The pan-Tibetan with the relevant Cholka-sum identity was the largest sub-category for both the QS and VGT informants from the Cholka-sum place of birth categories. The second most popular sub-category for Cholka-sum place of birth category informants from both QS and VGT informants was Tibetan. The uniformity of Cholka-sum sub-category results from both QS and the VGT continued with the third largest sub-category being the single Cholka-sum item associated with the place of birth category.

In the QS India category there were 23 sub-categories of identity constructs with a total of 299 valid informant responses. The India category table has eight salient identity categories as opposed to three, yet the identity category types were similar to the previous tables. The largest sub-category being the single item identity Tibetan, followed by Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak, Tibetan and Shejak, Tibetan and Utsang, Tibetan, Khampa and Shejak, Utsang, Tibetan and Khampa and Shejak. The remaining 15 identity categories were considered too small to list here and are therefore represented by combined remaining variations sub-category. The number of informants in the categories of Nepal (16 informants), Bhutan (8 informants), the USA (2 informants) and German (1 informant) were also considered too small to warrant an extensive description here. Suffice to say the Nepal category held 11 sub-categories, the largest of which was Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak (3, 18.8%). In the Bhutan category there are 5 sub-categories with the largest sub-category of Bhutanese (3, 37.5%).

In the VGT India identity category the largest of the 4 sub-categories was the multiple case group Tibetan and Shejak, followed by Tibetan, Shejak and Tibetan, Utsang and Shejak. Finally, In the Bhutan category both informants reported defining themselves as Tibetan.

If the results from QS are used to highlight certain salient themes due to the large sample size, then there are a number of issues regarding the use of these figures to substantiate the place of birth categorisation as a valid concept for informants' identity constructs and thus as a

valid independent variable. Firstly, there are similarities regarding two of the three Cholka-sum identity constructs. There is a 4.4% drop in the figures of Kham (place of birth) 28.6% (226 informants) to 24.4% (194 informants) 'Khampa' identity construct and a 0.5% increase from Amdo (place of birth) 11.9% (94 informants) to 12.4% (100 informants) 'Amdowa' identity construct. These data results allow for the summation regarding identity construction in the TDD that, even though there are contrasting single item identities such as Tibetan, a prevalent and consistent theme amongst all place of birth categories was for a multiple identity construction involving the pan-Tibetan and regional elements.

Furthermore, the data suggest that while the Shejak identity construct is a valid element of the Tibetan diaspora, it is not used in a comparative way like the Cholka-sum identity constructs. While 41.7% (329 informants) state that they were born in the diaspora, only 20.8% (167 informants) state that they are 'Shejak'. This in turn goes some way to explain the adjustment in the figures between Utsang (place of birth) from 17.7% (140 informants) to 27.5% (220 informants) in the 'Utsang' identity construct category in question 4, an increase of 9.8% in QS. However, the extent of the presence of the Shejak identity construction provides evidence to suggest that the diasporic culture of preservation is a dynamic that not only values 'traditional' cultural items but Tibetan cultural items in general.

As a number of informants chose to self-identify singularly as Tibetan, this also impacts on the similarity between the place of birth and identity construct figures, yet as the objective was to label intra-Tibetan identity constructs within Tibetan identity as a whole, the decision was made to use the Cholka-sum regional identity constructs in conjunction with the wider geographical constructs of India, Nepal, Bhutan, USA and Germany.

4.2 The Tibetan identity construct in the interviews

In this section, interview informants report on their own and others' identities within the TDD, and to a lesser extent in Tibet and other Tibetan settlements in India and Nepal, yet the objective here is not to present a comprehensive representation of identity or cultural identity of the TDD or its members. The aim was to report on how informants expressed their awareness of identity and cultural identity, and therefore to develop a perspective on identity which would combine with the data on language attitudes to allow for an investigation into how these two concepts affected, influenced and defined each other, and possibly the linguistic repertoires of informants.

Even at a superficial level the concepts of identity, language and language attitudes in the TDD appear to be interconnected. The diasporic circumstances dictate that the members of the TDD believe that the existence of the Tibetan culture is under threat. The TDD by its very nature is a displaced community whose members are directly affected by the on-going events of Chinese rule in Tibet. Many have witnessed first-hand the suppression of the Tibetan people, their culture and their language. At the time of writing (May 2015), since 2009 144 Tibetans have committed the act of self-immolation in unequivocally extreme acts of protest, reflecting the gravity of the circumstances.[40]

In terms of Tibetan identity constructs there are a few salient features. Firstly there is the homogenous Tibetan identity construct comparable to other socio-geo-cultural constructs which describe national or wider cultural regional areas such as Japanese, Punjabi, Nepali or Basque. These groups, while not categorising an exclusive entirety and not constructed without recognition of overlapping or sub categories, are representative of a shared identity

[40] http://www.savetibet.org/resources/fact-sheets/self-immolations-by-tibetans (139 in the PRC, 5 in the diaspora)

construct through the awareness of cohesion through ethnicity, socio-political structure and commonly a geographical location or a conceptual 'motherland'. The longevity of association of a shared identity or the awareness of longevity (or rather its historic element) acts as a binding agent for TDD members, mirroring a conventional norm of nationalism or ethnicity. The concept of the awareness of the homogenous Tibetan identity construct is central to the circumstances of the members of the TDD. Informant 4 stated that in Tibet he was not aware of the narratives of the Tibetan issue, yet conversely in exile being a Tibetan is not only to be of a particular ethnic origin but is an expression of Tibetanness with a responsibility to exist and remain as such.

The catalyst for the creation of the Tibetan diaspora and the development of the homogenous Tibetan identity construct was the Chinese invasion in 1950 and the subsequent occupation. The concept of China being the 'other' which enables TDD members to express their assertion of being Tibetan creates a distinction between the Chinese people and the Chinese state. The identity construct of Tibetan is associated with that of Tibet and the Tibetan culture as a whole, and is in conflict with China and Chinese culture as a whole, and therefore accentuates the nationalistic construct and the theme of Tibetan nationalism. Individuality transcends these definitions while concepts associated with the socio-political do not. Many of the informants from Tibet stated that they had had Chinese friends. Informants often mentioned two aspects when describing their relationships with Chinese. Firstly, that the Chinese people were very good, and secondly that you could not discuss politics with them (informants 2, 4, 6, 37, 45, 57).

All but 3 of the informants responded that they were Tibetan or from a part of Tibet when questioned as to their identity. The significance of these responses is that the initial enquiry as to their identity was open and ambiguous. Of the three informants that did not explicitly identify themselves as Tibetan, informants 16 and 31 focused on their individual character

traits, while informant 31 stated that his identity was linked to the Tibetan language and Buddhism. Informants attached a number of markers of status to the concept of Tibetan identity. Most prominent was that of the association with Buddhism and the belief that Tibetan culture emphasised non-violence towards humans and animals. None of the informants regarded themselves or another Tibetan or group of Tibetans as being anything other than Tibetan in terms of their cultural identity. Sanjos were not associated with a Chinese identity construct and Shejaks were not associated with that of an Indian identity construct. The homogenous Tibetan identity did not take precedence over that of any regional Tibetan identity construct and vice versa.

Being a member of the Tibetan nation with a stateless status formed an aspect of the construction of Tibetanness not only in the desire to state that they would 'always remain Tibetan' regardless of which country they lived in or which citizenship or passport they had, but also in the responsibility regarding their situation that they saw all Tibetans as having. Tibetan membership was reported by informants as not only having a particular place of birth as a requisite but also as dependent on the identity of parents and Buddhism. The fact that they 'didn't have a country' proved to be a binding factor. Moral and cultural rights in the eyes of informants connected them to Tibet. Informant 57 explained that identity is associated with blood and belonging, while today there also exists prominent associations with politics and law which were perceived to exclude Tibetans, but in doing so created an awareness which unified them. The inclusive nature of Tibetanness among the intra-Tibetan groups allowed the research to surmise that both the multiple intra and pan-Tibetan identity constructs were evidence of yet also sustained by, in part, the diasporic cultural of preservation.

4.2.1 Cholka-sum regional identities

The events leading to the creation of the TDD and the Tibetan diaspora further solidified the Tibetan identity; yet culturally Tibetans have traditionally recognised more localised identity constructs. In the TDD the Tibetan identity construct is a socio-political marker of significance through its prominence in TDD members' awareness, yet the homogenous Tibetan identity construct was not exclusive. Informants were aware of and expressed recognition of intra-Tibetan identity constructs of regional identity markers. The three regional identity markers of the Cholka-sum classification were salient features in informants' identity constructs. A fourth salient identity construct was that of the diasporic Shejak identity construct, referring exclusively to the Tibetans born in India.

Many Sanjo Tibetans reported that on arriving in Nepal or India a 'country mate' (a person from the same hometown or area) had taken them aside and told them to forget about their hometown identities and to recognise that now they should regard themselves as being just Tibetan. This view correlates with the policies of the CTA to unite Tibetans in the diaspora and promote a concept of a homogenous Tibetan identity. While certain Tibetan settlements in India are associated with one of the Cholka-sum regions, and initially Tibetans entering into exile in the 1960s were segregated using the Cholka-sum categorisation, the concept of regional difference is now firmly set within the Tibetan identity construct, creating the concept of "otherness in sameness". This concept allows TDD members to be aware of and express both the intra-Tibetan group and pan-Tibetan constructs simultaneously.

In terms of social networks, typically TDD members will associate with others who are from their hometown or region. Educational institutions, especially the Tibetan Transit School located in a secluded area in Lower Dharamsala, help form intra-regional Tibetan group relationships. Although it is worth mentioning that perhaps Sanjos are more likely to develop

relationships with other Sanjos from other regional groups perhaps because they share several commonalities namely; similar cultural upbringing and similar present circumstances.

Lhasa plays a large part in the Tibetan identity construct as it is the capital city of Tibet, a place of pilgrimage, cultural and religious significance, and the location of many incidents associated with the Tibetans' present circumstances, most notably the uprisings in 1959, 1987, 1988, 1989 and 2008. Although the demonstrations of 2008 and the recent self-immolations have taken place throughout the Tibetan regions in the PRC, significant events in post-1950 Tibet such as the political uprisings before 2008, in conjunction with the ambiguity of the geographical entity of Tibet, have led commentators to criticise principal actors in the Tibetan diaspora for focusing on Lhasa-centric policies. Nevertheless, regardless of the source of the influence, informants expressed the belief that Lhasa was imbued with significance for the Tibetan people. Informant 4 believed that Lhasa was important for the relationship of the Cholka-sum as a unifying factor.

Informants did express a dislike for the Cholka-sum categorisation and stated that the [Tibetan] culture, language and Buddhism were the same. Informant 16 blamed the Chinese for creating the Cholka-sum distinction, while informant 11 stated that when she lived in the PRC she was unaware that the Cholka-sum distinctions were variants of Tibetanness: 'I came here I know they have Amdo, Kham and Utsang in Tibet, I don't know they are all the same'. Informant 11 stated that she thought the Cholka-sum concept was not good because all Tibetans were the same. I asked her if she thought she could be Tibetan and Khampa and she answered, 'maybe choose one'. Conversely informant 24 held the opposite opinion: 'we stay in Tibet we er not this three part, we er we er different this three part, we all the same, but here [Dharamsala] come we heard this three parts, but we stay in Tibet Tibetan people in Tibet all think the same'. Informant 34 talked about other Tibetans that said 'my village, my monastery, my town'. He said that he thought this was important but that Tibetans should

‘make one group not three group Cholka-sum’. Informant 9 shared a similar view, ‘we not say I am Khampa, I am Amdo, don’t say never, we are all of the same. If the Chinese scold us they scold all of us. We are sad and happy together. Not Amdo, not Kham, not Utsang, we are the same, we are one’.

Shejak Informant 26 expressed the view that the relationship among the Cholka-sum groups was good stating that, ‘before 1959 everyone have their own now we are united together’. This view draws on the concept that being in exile has united the Cholka-sum. Informant 13 emphasises the point that, ‘when you work together there isn’t much problem. If living separately then there’s a problem’.

Regional identity markers are not only attributed to the Cholka-sum categories. Hometown or village identity markers also are salient features of Tibetan identity in the TDD. Due to its location to the west of Tibet there were a large number of Tibetans in Dharamsala who originated from Ngari and Kyirong. The identity markers for these areas are in part associated with the identity markers of neighbouring intra-regional markers in Utsang, specifically that of Lhasa. Two informants (7, 35) used language which described people from Kyirong explicitly in negative terms. When discussing the combative relationship among regional groups, informant 7 said she did not like Kyirong, stating that ‘they are clever and jealous, jealous among themselves’. While many informants used ‘clever’ as a positive it was also used in the negative throughout the interviews. Clever in a negative sense related to having the ability to manipulate circumstances to benefit oneself, and therefore was associated with self-interest. Clever at the positive end of the spectrum of definitions was reported as having associations with education and business acumen.

Informant 36 from Utsang talked about what she had heard about Amdowas. What was particularly interesting was that she differentiated between Amdowas in Dharamsala and in

Tibet, ‘in Amdo if a wife isn’t listening to her husband then he will cut her nose. I’m a little bit afraid of Amdo, not here, in Tibet’.

While there appears, on occasion, to be an element of conflict between the assertions of pan-Tibetan and intra-Tibetan allegiances it exists as an aspect of the dynamics between these two concepts. The data suggest a pan-Tibetan unity aided by TDD members’ familiarity of positive narratives of intra-group dynamics. The ongoing negotiations of inter-group relationships perhaps reflect the community’s understanding of nationalism as well as the lack of an imposed nationalist policy or directives from top-down sources.

4.2.2 Difference between Sanjos and Shejaks

Informant 22 talked about the cohesive elements in the relationship between Sanjos and Shejaks: ‘some people say it’s bad like this I say it’s no problem, don’t forget the enemy is China’.

Contrary to the informants’ desire to report that the people from the different intra-Tibetan groups were the same but different, in general terms, informants expressed difference in a number of ways, signifying a larger degree of difference when specifically asked. Informant 1 from Amdo assigned two aspects to the Shejak identity that were shared by a number of informants, ‘Shejak is open’ and ‘Shejak don’t think about the Tibetan situation as people from Tibet [do]’. Sanjos expressed this perceived difference in connection to the Tibetan situation in a number of ways. Shejaks’ lesser association to the Tibetan situation and having different cultural attributes to traditional Tibetan aspects of culture as expressed in terms of ‘Shejaks just think about now’ (informant 14). Informant 56 spoke of how Sanjos have a deeper concern regarding the Tibetan situation, and even went as far to say that he does not

see any good in the relationship between Sanjos and Shejaks. While other informants recognised certain differences between the two groups highlighting aspects such as a western influence on Shejaks, many informants saw the situation differently, stating that both groups were the same apart from markers such as language, clothes and food, and in fact they all shared the same suffering.

This concept of thinking about now, or affirmations of a perceived, perhaps superficial, modern, western, non-traditional Tibetan way of living, was expressed by informants in a number of other ways. Informant 38, from Kham, described the Shejak-Sanjo dichotomy by stating that the Shejaks are 'open' and that the Sanjos have 'shame'. In an uncomplimentary remark he added, 'Shejak are like a girl'. Informant 45 referred to Shejaks as having no shame because they took recreational drugs. To develop the point he talked about how Khampas and Amdowas, and to a lesser extent Utsangs, would change the channel on the television if they saw kissing or would perhaps leave the room, especially if they were with family members. He said on the other hand that Shejaks watched everything together and that this did not show the appropriate respect for parents. He added that teachers were also like parents in terms of the respect that one should have for them but here [Dharamsala] this was not the case.

This description of the two Tibetan identity markers of Sanjo and Shejak was also expressed by informants who chose to emphasise difference between Sanjo and Shejak children. Many Sanjo informants described the behaviour of Shejak children in negative terms, or emphasised the difference in Sanjo and Shejak children's lives. Sanjo children 'suffer' while Shejak children were 'spoilt'. Informant 1 differentiated between Sanjos and Shejak children by indicating that he believed Shejak children were influenced by 'western ideas'. He stated the difference by explaining a 'Tibetan idea': 'kids respect parent and all the people, and the teacher. First teacher then the parents, Shejak culture doesn't have this'. Informant 21

believed that Sanjo children were 'hard working' while Shejak children were not because they did not have to worry as their parents were able to look after them'. The concept of the suffering of Sanjo children relates to a concept assigned to Sanjos in general as having more relevance to the situation of Tibet and the Tibetan issue. Assigning the 'open' trait to Shejaks was not always expressed in the negative. Informant 8 from Utsang described Shejaks as being 'a little bit not polite' but 'inside very clear', 'clear means honest and very kind, and very honest'.

Informant 7 talked about the Sanjo and Shejak dichotomy in the TDD and the effects it had on Tibetans: 'I think Tibetans born in India and Tibetans born in Tibet live apart'. Talking about her experience growing up in Dharamsala she said that, 'I think that 70% of students from Upper TCV are from Tibet' and that at school she 'formed a community with [her] Shejak classmates'. 'Tibetans born in India do not easily get admission into TCVs. This is the true case. That's why they go to CTS institutions (Central Tibetan Schools)'. She expressed the belief that Sanjos will learn shejak-skad eventually, but that 'there are examples of Shejaks and Sanjos being friendly but it is quite rare', 'I don't think Shejak Tibetans and Amdo Tibetans mix that much, it's easier for Utsang Tibetans and Shejak Tibetans to get connected, they understand more, like, easier'.

Informant 36 believes that Shejak identity is similar to that of a foreigner [westerner] identity construct, 'acting like a Shejak, acting like a foreigner'. She describes Shejaks thus: 'we are all from the same country but the Shejak, the way of their thinking is a little bit arrogant, but like the Sanjo they are more, they just speak directly, whatever they think they will just speak directly… [whispers] maybe', 'I don't like Shejak also'. Informant 36 stated that she does have Shejak friends but 'is reluctant to open her heart to them'.

The Shejak/Sanjo dynamics expressed by the interview informants in this section suggest a dichotomy exists in the TDD. However even if that was an absolute and not an aspect of a dynamic then in combination with the QS survey the data suggest that these two categories of identity construction are part of an inter-group dynamic within the pan-Tibetan structure. This could appear as a convenient fact serving diasporic political concerns, however is possibly an apt representation of nationalism based upon ethnical criteria.

4.2.3 Language differences used as identity markers

One of the salient features of difference between regional groups including Shejaks was defined by how people spoke Tibetan. Informants stated that they thought that speaking was the only difference, or one of a few differences, when identifying intra-Tibetan groups. This aspect not only defined a marker for the Cholka-sum and Shejaks identities, but also the variations of speaking among groups within a particular region. Informant 6 from Kham commented on a friend of his, also from Kham yet not from the same area, stating that 'they don't use grammar, the sound is different'. Informant 9 expressed a commonly held view among informants regarding the intra-Tibetan group identities: 'the language is different the people are the same.

Informants from all regional areas used the difference in language when describing difference in intra-Tibetan identities. Informant 23 expressed a commonly shared view, 'I think Shejak is er, not much different, but little, little, speak is quick in Shejak, speak quick, Sanjo is slowly speak'. This indicates not only a marker of the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy but also shows the awareness of TDD members of recognisable markers of aspects of Sanjo existence that are shared by all Sanjo groups, or rather seen to be shared by all Sanjo groups.

Informants described a linguistic connection to the concept of difference between Sanjos and Shejaks. Informant 18 was adamant that Dharamsala was not Shejak, as all of the population were newcomers from Tibet. She stated that 'Shejaks are not good in Tibetan, they don't have an interest to learn the Tibetan language, and when we use Lhasa speak they giggle [at] us, they focus on English'.

All of the data collection techniques produced data that allows the research to suggest that intra-group members are aware of and use difference in their Tibetic repertoires. Awareness of the linguistic divergence does not assign a shibboleth function to create an exclusive form of communication but assists in defining identity markers. Variants of a particular Tibetic variety are often identified in multiple ways to represent the multiple Tibetan identities of that particular TDD member. For example an individual from Ganze would state that they spoke ganze-skad, kham-skad and Tibetan without defining their repertoire has having three particular Tibetic varieties.

4.3 Aspects of the diaspora

The diasporic circumstances of the TDD were particularly significant in informants' responses. Informants born in both Tibet and India referred to themselves as being refugees, who were able to articulate multiple narratives to contextualise the concept. Informant 7 referred to herself as a political refugee while informant 22 stated that he thought Tibetans should learn more about politics then return to Tibet. This was not the only example of informants stating a desire to return to Tibet. In fact the ephemeral nature of the TDD had become a more pressing issue due in part to the protracted nature of the Tibetan issue, contemporary events in Tibet and the age of the Dalai Lama. With these issues drawing TDD members' attention to long term stability concerns, the concept of leaving the TDD was

therefore particularly salient during the period of fieldwork. Informant 7 laughed when telling me about the high number of fake marriages which were taking place and the high number of Tibetans attempting to gain entry into western countries through illegal means.

The Green Book or registration certificate (RC) which legitimatises residence in India for Tibetans is also the registration through which Tibetans pay taxes to the CTA. Informants reported ownership of this book as qualifying you as being Tibetan. Rubio (2004) reported that the Green Book was held by central Tibetans and that Tibetans from the regions of Amdo and Kham felt that they did not want or need it, yet regardless of regional association or intra-Tibetan group membership or identity informants in this research identified the RC as an item which has status for all TDD members. Informant 45 explained 'the Green Book is very important to us, to prove that you are Tibetan, we just have the Green Book'. The Green Book can be held by Tibetans living in any country outside the PRC, yet informants expressed the notion that Tibetans living in western countries were perhaps further removed from other aspects which they associated with Tibetan culture. Many informants talked about the loss of tradition in their culture in exile, and as a result the loss of Tibetan identity. Informants 5 and 57 referred to instances of eating or using tsampa as identity qualifiers. Informant 5 says that, 'Tibetans abroad may have an identity crisis cause they don't eat tsampa or have never seen a yak'.

The refugee identity was viewed negatively by many informants. Informant 34 explained, 'everyday I think I'm a very poor people [person] because I don't have a really [real] place, an honour place, like a donkey or a wild animal living in the mountain.' He compares his identity card with his Swiss friend's identity card, 'mine only works 70% of the time, my friend's 100%. I thought I was a man, human being but people look at me like I'm not'.

4.3.1 The diasporic culture of preservation

A number of informants reported concepts that they associated with the representation of Tibetan culture. For example informant 8 defined food, clothes and language as being elements which represent Tibetan culture and should be preserved; of particular importance was the Tibetan language. Informant 34 thought that preserving the Tibetan language was 'very important' because 'if I don't know any Tibetan then I don't know any value'. Informant 18 stated that 'the language is the pillar of our country'. Informant 17 believed 'for nationality their own language is important, so if I'm being Tibetan and I don't speak Tibetan then there is no use saying I'm Tibetan. There is no identity. Language is also being Tibetan.' I asked her if it was important for Tibetans who go to a western country to continue speaking Tibetan, to which she replied, 'yeah, some Tibetans who go to a foreign country used to act like they have forgotten Tibetan, but I am surprised with my boyfriend's friend's niece [who resides in Europe], she speaks fluent Tibetan'.

Informant 30 explained that it was important to use the Tibetan language in exile, 'as the Chinese have invaded us we must keep Tibetan culture outside of Tibet'. Informant 55 agreed, 'absolutely, especially for the young Tibetans to speak with the old people to pick up the words that come from the old things', 'not mix, speak pure it's more positive right. You can get nothing if you mix, how many people paid how much price for this language?' Several of the informants recognised the importance of a perceived sense of personal responsibility to aid in the preservation of Tibetan. As informant 4 states, 'Tibetans should preserve Tibetan culture, right now I study English but I always think about Tibetan culture.' Informant 36 agreed, 'being as a Tibetan we have to preserve our culture so you have to keep it.'

Many informants expressed the concept that keeping the language meant keeping the Tibetan culture. Informant 10 stated 'if Tibetan speaking [is a] little bit lost then of course automatically about culture is very damaged'. Informant 11 stated that 'yeah I think if we didn't speak Tibetan then it will be lost. If Tibetans in Tibet speak Chinese then Tibetan will be lost, if Tibetans in India speak English and Hindi then Tibetan will be lost'. I asked her if she thought the resultant loss of the language would mean the loss of the culture too, to which she replied, 'Yeah, Tibetan is a country, if there is no language then there is no country' 'if Tibet have no language then it is really part of Chinese'.

Informant 19 stated that, 'yes that's very true cause the language itself is the identity to preserve what you are and the culture and language point to who you are if you lost the language then you convert to other and you can't say you are Tibetan'. Informant 31 stated that, 'to preserve Tibetan culture you need to know Tibetan language, without Tibetan language how can you preserve Tibetan culture?' Informant 35 agreed that speaking Tibetan was important for the preservation of Tibetan culture, 'cause the language is the foundation for the culture to survive, certain culture can only be expressed through the language of that that belongs to that culture. We say from Sanskrit to, translate Sanskrit to Tibetan but then Tibetan to English you always lose certain essence or meanings'. Informant 48 stated that, 'our language is like passport, if lost language all lost! Language is so important, it's like root, root of culture and Buddhism and Tibetan religion'. Informant 7 stated that the Tibetan language was important for preserving the Tibetan culture, 'oh yeah sure, because language is the medium to show one's identity'. Informant 13 agreed: 'definitely, people recognise your identity from the language you speak', 'in 80's and 90's people forget, people like are quite ignorant… now I felt that many younger generation are keeping interest on Tibetan issue, Tibetan culture, Tibetan cause, so yeah so I think things are improving'.

The associations made between informants' beliefs that they should maintain the Tibetan culture through speaking Tibetan and their motivations to do so indicate not only the saliency of the culture of preservation in the TDD, but it's ability to adapt to the fluidity of diasporic existence. The nationalistic emphasis on ethnicity and Tibetan cultural items enables the diasporic culture of preservation to not be a heritage culture of reminiscence but one which allows TDD members to be active or 'activists' in preserving, similar to a 'protector of the faith'.

4.3.2 The identity of others in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

As a diaspora with a perceived shared past, culture and ethnicity Tibetans not only have an 'other' identity concept in that of the Chinese but also in others predominantly that of Indian and foreigner. Dharamsala is the combination of two distinct entities. Firstly it fits the remit of small town categorisation and the other is tourist town. The latter creates an environment where TDD members come into contact with and are aware of a number of other groups with other identity constructs.

Tourists from Asian countries such as Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand are not regarded as being foreigners per se. TDD informants regard the foreigner identity construct to be similar to that of Western i.e. with European origins. This concept is fairly typical throughout East and South East Asia, for example '*laowai*' (老外) in China, '*bule*' in Indonesia, and '*waegukin*' in South Korea. The term foreigner therefore is possibly able to be completely interchangeable with the term '*inji*' (དཀྱིན་ཇི།), the Tibetan equivalent of the above examples. Inji means English and is still used as the word to specifically denote people of that country, but is also the generic term for foreigner. For example in Dharamsala it may be

considered typical to hear the statement, 'he has an *inji* girlfriend', or 'I saw an *inji* wearing a chuba (Tibetan traditional dress) yesterday'.

4.3.2.1 The 'barbaric other' of Sanjo and Shejak Tibetan identity constructs

Informant 35 talked about the brief history of the relationship between Sanjos and Shejaks. He said that once the novelty of the first Sanjo arrival in the 1980s had gone then the Shejaks thought the Sanjos were backward. 'They were known for not knowing how to behave and they fought and were often drunk in public, and that they spat on the bus'. The stigma of the Sanjo identity still holds, but now in conjunction with conflicting opinions. Informant 35 said he thought that the Sanjos were now considered to be better at business, and attributed this to the 'Chinese influence back home.' The positive aspects attributed to the Sanjos could reflect the concept that they were from Tibet and perhaps this in itself was hugely influential with regards to attributing status. Yet the Sanjo informant 53 expressed a view which captured a sentiment I had often heard in Dharamsala: 'Shejak friendship, it's easy to break, they can ignore everything, like this, but students who came from Tibet, it's hard to deal with them but once the friendship build then it's hard to broken, it's my experience'.

Shejak informant 7 stated that, 'you can differentiate from the way they look, from the complexion, I can easily tell, he is Sanjo, he is Shejak, and the way they dress, and the way they talk. I can easily differentiate who's Sanjo, who's Shejak. Shejak I think are more polite'. When talking about Sanjos informant 7 believed that they are 'always fighting for rights, no duty'. To illustrate the point she explained how the Sanjos would go to a certain department at CTA and bang their fists on the desk and demand to get what they wanted. She described how certain members of the Sanjo group had been to prison for political 'crimes' in Tibet, but that now they abused their positions to get money. She also stated that 'I have heard that there

are many fake political prisoners in Dasa, I don't know whether this is true or not'. Shejak informant 17 stated that Sanjos were 'strong minded, orthodox and ready to fight' that they 'don't listen to others', 'Same case with my aunty, she is very stubborn'. Informant 56 framed the concepts reported here by stating that, 'it [Dasa] looks beautiful from outside, but if you live within the community, inside, then there are lots of gossipings and backbiting'.

The opinion of Sanjos being seen as aggressive was expressed by a number of informants. Informant 6 from Kham believed that, 'Shejak recognise that Sanjo is a very dangerous sort of person'. It could be argued that this comment indicates that Sanjos do embody, yet least partially, the 'barbaric other' in the perception of the Shejaks. Often it was the case that an informant would indicate that there was a problem between Sanjos and Shejaks but that they had had positive experiences of the other group, yet I often found that Shejak informants reported that they did not have any close Sanjo friends and vice versa. Informant 8, from Utsang, explained that she rarely gets an opportunity to meet Shejaks. She told me that a long time ago a Shejak girl joined her nunnery and while she 'didn't mind' she made a point of stating that she had recognised the difference in the Shejak girl's Tibetan compared to her own. Informant 35 said he had Shejak friends but could still not talk about certain topics with them because he believed they would not understand.

Informant 30 from Kham went so far as to describe Shejaks as 'very bad, Shejak manner is bad'. I asked one informant from Kham after he had finished criticising the behaviour of Shejaks whether he thought that Shejaks were good Buddhists. He answered that he did not know but said that if you went to walk the Kora at five in the morning then 80% of the people you would see would be Shejaks.

Informant 8 described the many differences between Sanjos and Shejaks but as variants within the intra-Tibetan identity, 'so in a family you got many people, father, mother, but it's

all one family', 'so I know that Shejak and Sanjo are both Tibetans, but also a little different'. Informant 9 preferred to state that all Tibetans in India were just different waves of Sanjo immigrants. She believes Sanjo is not a bad word and that only the small minded create the division between Sanjos and Shejaks. Informant 55 disagreed. While he stated that there was 'quite [a] clash' between Sanjos and Shejaks he explained that it was 'not a big problem'. Informant 55 talked about how he thought Tibetans described themselves, 'usually people describe oh he is Sanjo, he is Shejak, like this. It shows there is a gap between Sanjos and Shejaks'. He stated that, 'most say I am Khampa or I am Amdo, I'm Utsang'. I asked if Shejaks would describe themselves as Shejak to which he said, 'Yeah, I am Shejak or I was born in India, some people don't say 'I'm Shejak', they say 'I was born in India'', 'they don't say 'I'm Khampa and I was born in India''.

Informant 7 held particularly polemic opinions on the subject of the relationship between Sanjos and Shejaks. 'Sanjos and Shejaks are not compatible. There's not compatibility between the two, and our [Shejak] way of thinking is quite different, their [Sanjo] way of thinking is different, and so far I have not seen Shejak Tibetans getting along with Sanjo. There's like a few who mingle… Dasa Shejaks alienate Sanjos and Sanjos do the same'. Shejak informant 13 disagreed saying that she had more friends who were Sanjos.

Informant 13 recognised the concept expressed by many Sanjo informants that Shejaks are less involved in the Tibetan issue, 'the original new arrivals [Shejaks] are settled and involved with their children, and there isn't someone to tell them information about what's going on in Tibet'. I asked her whether she would go to Tibet if Tibet got its independence. She said that her grandparents would be happy to return but was unsure herself. She said she would 'return' or 'visit' 'but not really quick'.

Shejak informants expressed a number of conflicting associations to the Sanjo stereotype. Sanjos in the west were 'richer than Shejaks' and seen as being 'witty', 'cleverer than Shejaks' and 'more intelligent'. Nevertheless informant 19 described them as being naturally more aggressive, and having a lower education and being not as liberal as Shejaks in their way of thinking. Shejak informant 20 stated that 'we don't look you [Sanjos] from a different angle, okay we might have this notion that you are a newcomer cause you are a little dirty right, you stink, that's natural right, but there isn't that kind of action, we help if you don't speak English or Hindi'. Informant 18 reported on how Shejaks used the term 'Sanjo' in the pejorative. She talks about being laughed and shouted at and being called a 'newcomer' in a derogatory sense. I asked her if she thought Sanjo was a bad word to which she replied, 'I think that it is okay', yet described its usage as a negative meaning 'knows nothing'.

4.4 Summary of results

The majority of the informants reported having multiple identity constructs (62.6% of QS informants and 58.3% VGT informants) typically structured using a pan-Tibetan element in conjunction with an intra-Tibetan group identity using the Cholka-sum delineation. The saliency of this structure allowed diaspora born informants to construct a relative diasporic intra-Tibetan group identity known as Shejak Tibetan. However, singular self-assigned identity constructs also were reported with particular emphasis on either pan-Tibetan or a particular Cholka-sum identity.

The homogenous pan-Tibetan identity did not take precedence over that of any regional Tibetan identity construct and vice versa. None of the interview informants regarded themselves or another Tibetan or group of Tibetans as being anything other than Tibetan in terms of their cultural identity. Tibetans from Tibet were not associated with the Chinese

identity construct and diaspora born Tibetans were not associated with that of an Indian identity construct. Chinese identity functions as 'other' substantially in Tibetan identity construction, and acts as a unifier in the TDD for TDD members regardless of their intra-Tibetan group membership. The multiple identity construct of homogenous Tibetan and the regional difference of the Cholka-sum categorisation in conjunction with diasporic intra-Tibetan group identities co-existed in the awareness 'otherness in sameness' and 'unity in diversity'.

Informants expressed awareness of language as being a defining aspect of culture with Tibetic varieties in particular indicating TDD members' intra-Tibetan group association. This in turn produced a concept whereby the perceived impurity of a Tibetic variety was stigmatised due to not ideally representing a particular cultural marker, yet conversely the same Tibetic variety could be assigned a degree of status due to informants identifying that variety as possessing utility. A specific Tibetic variety usage could indicate difference through intra-Tibetan group association yet conversely regardless of Tibetic variety Tibetan language usage acted simultaneously as a unifier.

The saliency of the perceived threat the Tibetan culture is under is a significant feature of the TDD. Interview informants expressed the idea that a defining aspect of the homogenous Tibetan identity construct in the TDD was TDD members' responsibility to exist and remain as such. This manifested in the diasporic culture of preservation. The data suggests that the diasporic culture of preservation particularly emphasised the importance of the Tibetan language, which in turn, facilitated the maintenance of the Tibetan culture.

4.5 Chapter summary

This chapter presents the themes associated with identity constructs in the TDD. The demographics of the informants are presented particularly focusing on the place of birth variable. Data from all three data collection techniques are used to present informant identity constructs. Typically, informants report multiple self-assigned salient identities incorporating intra-Tibetan group and pan-Tibetan identities. Diasporic intra-Tibetan group identity constructs were similar to non-diasporic intra-Tibetan group constructs. Tibetan was an exclusive and valued identity construct to all TDD members. In Tibetan identity construction Chinese functioned as an 'other', yet while intra-Tibetan group identities were salient inter-Tibetan group dynamics did not involve salient otherness. The diasporic culture of preservation and other factors identified the diversity of intra-Tibetan group difference yet within a construction of cultural unity.

Chapter Five: The Linguistic Circumstances of the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

This chapter presents data from the QS and interviews regarding informants' linguistic repertoires and speech practices. This chapter seeks to develop an understanding not just on the reported Tibetic variety competence and performance of TDD members, but also other linguistic varieties such as English, Chinese and Hindi present in the TDD. As the research focuses on language attitudes and does not attempt to report on specific examples of speech practices nor present an in-depth understanding of levels of ability, informant-reported data was identified as adequate. Nonetheless, as the members of the TDD speak a diverse number of Tibetic varieties it was considered appropriate to record informant-reported data on their linguistic repertoires, specifically with regards to performance and competence, and their opinions regarding the linguistic variations and perceived differences among Tibetic varieties in addition to eliciting opinions on the linguistic circumstances in Dharamsala and Tibet, as well as their opinions regarding the Tibetan language and its relationship with the Tibetan culture.

This chapter begins by presenting the questionnaire results depicting informants' linguistic repertoires, and then focuses specifically on informants' Tibetic variety repertoires. Unless otherwise stated the term 'linguistic varieties' was employed as a reference to varieties often perceived to be 'languages' such as Tibetan, English or Chinese, with the term 'Tibetic varieties' used specifically to refer to varieties of the Tibetan language. The motivation to create the two categories was dictated by the necessity to focus specifically on the Tibetic varieties in informants' repertoires. Following these, data elicited from informants in the interviews are used to present the multiple Tibetic variety repertoires of TDD members, with

an emphasis on the defining features and differences in the prominent Tibetic varieties of utsang-skad and shejak-skad. The final sections of this chapter present the questionnaire results associated for the comparisons between informants' reported linguistic and Tibetic variety performance abilities and competence abilities and analysis of the linguistic circumstances in the TDD specifically as to whether there is evidence to suggest a linguistic polynomy.

5.1 Informant-reported linguistic repertoires

This section presents the results of the QS regarding informant-reported spoken abilities in the languages present in the TDD. The design of the questionnaire took into account that the informant responses were self-reported therefore the decision was made not to require informants to rate their abilities in any particular linguistic variety. Not collecting data on informant-reported abilities was not anticipated as being a particularly problematic omission as the emphasis was on which and how many linguistic varieties informants reported having in their repertoires. While it must be taken into consideration that a 'halo effect' may produce an occurrence where informants could report speaking a variety they do not on the premise of prestige the focus on the salient themes, the size of the QS sample and the multiple data collection techniques provided a counter measure.

Linguistic and Tibetic varieties reported by informants are not reported in their entirety in this chapter due to the large variety of small responses (please view appendix 2 tables A2.1 – A2.9, A2.12 - A2.21, A2.24 and A2.25 for the data presented in table form). Typically the number of responses for the varieties reported by a small number of informants ranged in and around the 1 or 2 percentile mark. In most instances in this chapter the top five largest cases are reported in detail while the remaining cases have been summarised.

5.1.1 Questionnaire survey informant-reported linguistic repertoires

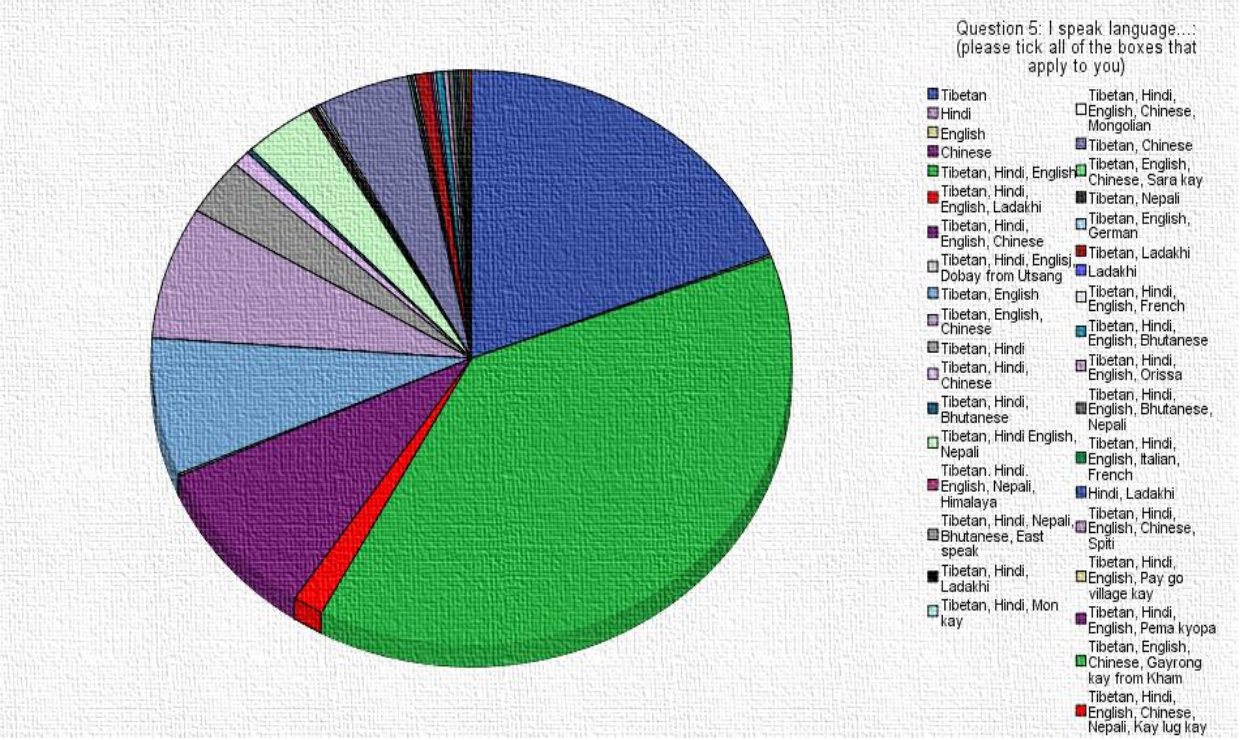
QS informants were presented with five categories in the language section (Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese and 'other, please specify') and instructed that all categories were available for selection. Figure 5.1 depicts informant responses regarding their spoken repertoires in an eyeball judgement form. The salient details of these data are reported on here, however please see Appendix 2 tables A2.1 – A2.13 for a full account of informants' linguistic repertoires. In total there are 34 categories depicted 3 of which are single item cases (English, Tibetan and Ladakhi) and 31 multiple item cases. In total 23 linguistic varieties were recorded in this section. Apart from 3 informants, all informants stated that they spoke the Tibetan language (776 informants, 99.6%). 464 informants (59.1%) stated that they spoke Hindi, 548 (70.3%) English, and 176 (22.6%) Chinese. Furthermore, 34 informants (4.4%) spoke Nepali and 23 (3%) spoke Ladakhi.

In order of size, beginning with the largest, the first five response categories are;

- 'Tibetan, Hindi and English' spoken by 300 informants (38.5%)
- 'Tibetan' 149 (19.1%)
- 'Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese' 70 (9%)
- 'Tibetan and English' 60 (7.7%)
- 'Tibetan, English and Chinese' 58 (7.4%)

117 (15%) informants occupied another 7 cases ranging from 36 (4.6%) to 3 (0.4%) informants per case, a further 3 categories held 2 informants (0.3%) each, and 19 cases held 1 informant (0.1%) each.

Figure 5.1 Languages spoken by QS informants



Tables 5.1 and 5.2 depict the frequency and descriptive statistics of the number of linguistic varieties in QS informants' spoken repertoires. 628 informants (80.6%) report having multilingual repertoires with 371 informants (47.6%) forming the largest category of 3 variety repertoires. While the data suggest that having a multiple linguistic repertoire is the norm for the majority of informants, these informants live in a community where 19.4% of the speakers are self-reported monolingual speakers almost exclusively of the Tibetan language (19.1%).

Table 5.1 Descriptive statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties in spoken repertoires

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	779	1.00	6.00	2.6252	1.00164
Valid N (listwise)	779				

Table 5.2 QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties in spoken repertoires

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 linguistic variety	151	18.9	19.4	19.4
	2 linguistic varieties	128	16.0	16.4	35.8
	3 linguistic varieties	371	46.3	47.6	83.4
	4 linguistic varieties	121	15.1	15.5	99.0
	5 linguistic varieties	7	.9	.9	99.9
	6 linguistic varieties	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	779	97.3	100.0	
Missing	System	22	2.7		
Total		801	100.0		

5.1.2 Questionnaire survey informant linguistic repertoire results categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 5.2 depicts the languages spoken by QS informants categorised by place of birth in an eyeball judgement form. The salient details of these data are reported on here, however please see Appendix 2 tables A2.1 – A2.13 for a full account of informants' linguistic repertoires. In the Amdo category there were 8 different categories of responses regarding informants' repertoires with 5 linguistic varieties, 15 for the Kham category with 9 linguistic varieties, and 12 for the Utsang category with 7 linguistic varieties. While the diasporic place of birth categories of Nepal, Bhutan, USA and Germany held similar results to the above Cholka-sum categories (Nepal; 5 categories with 6 linguistic varieties, Bhutan; 4 and 5, USA; 2 and 3 and Germany; 1 and 3) the India category informants stated 20 different categories of responses with 14 linguistic varieties.

The largest number of responses for each of the major place of birth category are as follows:

Amdo;

- Tibetan (27 informants 29.3%)
- Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese (14 informants 15.2%)
- Tibetan and English (14 informants 15.1%)
- Tibetan, English and Chinese (13 informants 14.1%)
- Tibetan, Hindi and English (11 informants 12%)

Kham;

- Tibetan (66 informants 30%)
- Tibetan, Hindi and English (37 informants 16.8%)
- Tibetan, English, Chinese (31 informants 14.1%)
- Tibetan and English (27 informants 12.3%)
- Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese (23 informants 10.5%) and Tibetan and Chinese (23 informants 10.5%) joint fifth

Utsang;

- Tibetan, Hindi and English (40 informants 29.4%)
- Tibetan (32 informants 23.5%)
- Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese (16 informants 11.8%)
- Tibetan and English (12 informants 8.8%) and Tibetan, English and Chinese (12 informants 8.8%) joint fourth
- Tibetan and Hindi (11 informants 8.1%)

India;

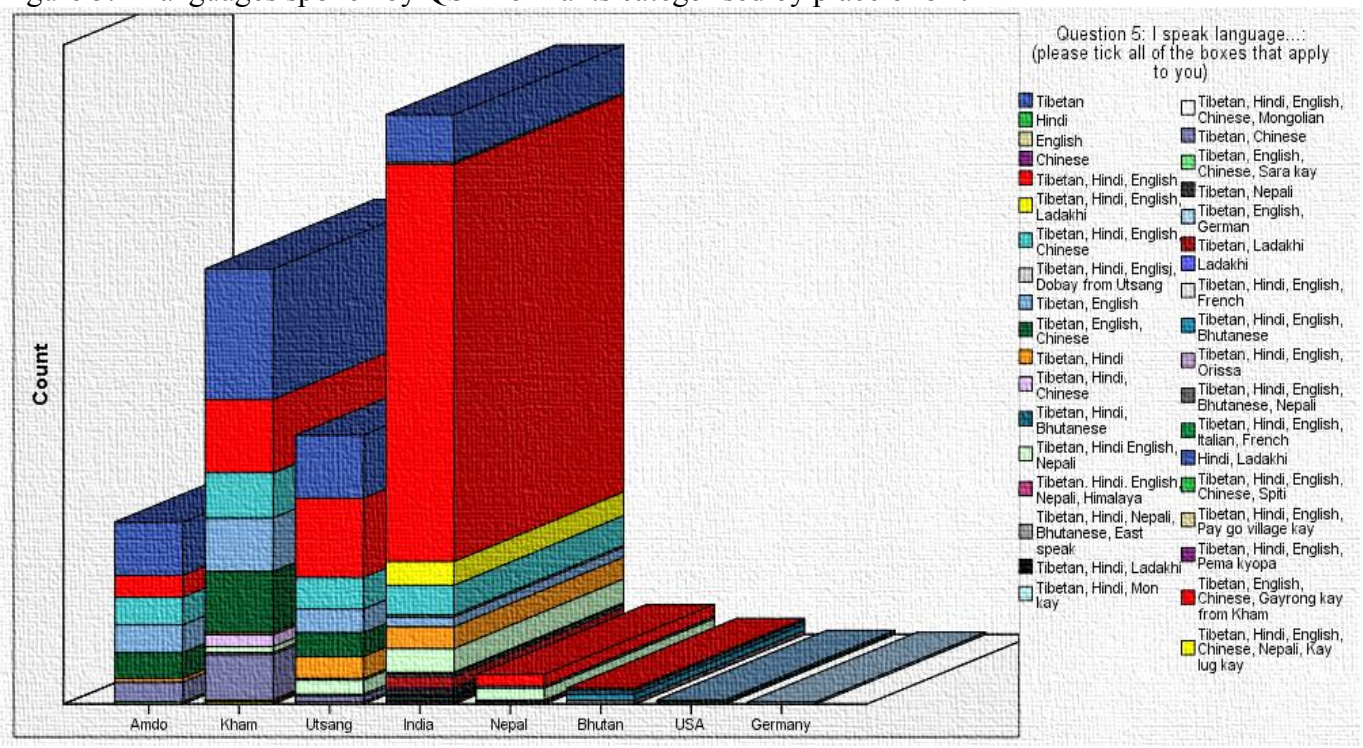
- Tibetan, Hindi and English (201 informants 67.4%)
- Tibetan (24 informants 8.1%)
- Tibetan, Hindi, English and Chinese (15 informants 5%)
- Tibetan, Hindi, English and Ladakhi (12 informants 4%) and Tibetan, Hindi, English and Nepali (12 informants 4%) joint fourth
- Tibetan and Hindi (11 informants 3.7%).

It is worth drawing the reader's attention to the number of responses giving Tibetan, Hindi and English in the India category. However, in general informant responses are similar throughout the categories. The Tibetan language is the most salient feature appearing in all the lists of repertoires in all the categories. Apart from the Kham and India categories where 99.5% and 99% of informants respectively stated that they spoke Tibetan in all other categories 100% of the informants reported being Tibetan speakers. Tibetan is also the only example of a monolingual repertoire, again, in each category. Hindi and English also feature prominently followed by Chinese.

There were certain patterns to the ability to speak English, Hindi and Chinese throughout the categories. English was reported in high numbers yet with a variation between Sanjo and Shejak categories (57.6% Amdo, 55.5% Kham, 65.4% Utsang, 84.9% India, 93.3% Nepal, 75% Bhutan). Hindi followed a similar pattern as English (29.3% Amdo, 32.3% Kham, 56.6% Utsang, 87.6% Indian, 93.3% Nepal, 100% Bhutan), while Chinese followed the opposite pattern with a larger number of responses in the Sanjo categories (41.3% Amdo, 38.2% Kham, 24.3% Utsang, 5.4% India, 6.7% Nepal 0% Bhutan). It is also worth indicating the difference between the Sanjo categories of Amdo and Kham and that of Utsang. The Utsang

category held higher figures regarding Hindi and English compared to Amdo and Kham and lower figures regarding Chinese.

Figure 5.2 Languages spoken by QS informants categorised by place of birth



Chinese was reported more in the Cholka-sum categories, with only 15 informants from non-Cholka-sum categories stating that they had Chinese in their repertoires while only 12 Cholka-sum informants stated that they spoke Nepali, and 1 *rdzong-skad*[41]. Languages originating beyond the region and not categorised as being a lingua franca were present but only in extremely small numbers, and apart from 1 Utsang informant that stated that he/she spoke Mongolian the other four informants were from non-Cholka-sum categories (India: 1 informant spoke Italian and 2 French, Germany: 1 informant spoke German).

A number of informants reported speaking linguistic varieties which were associated with a particularly localised area or specific entity or were ambiguous. 2 informants (2.2%) from the

[41] The national language of Bhutan; Bhutanese.

Amdo category stated that they spoke '*sera-skad*'.[42] Sara College is an educational institute in the Kanga valley on the periphery of Lower Dharamsala. The other linguistic varieties which fall into this category are '*east-speak*', '*kay-lug-skad*', '*Tibetan-Orissa-skad*', '*mon-skad*', '*paygo-village-skad*', '*pema-kyopa-skad*', '*do-pa-skad* from Utsang' and '*himalaya*'.[43]

If the linguistic variety data are presented for each place of birth category then the highest frequency for all categories is multilingual, with 2 linguistic varieties in Amdo (30.4% of informants) and 3 in Kham (35% of informants), Utsang (39% of informants) and India (61.8% of informants). The number of informants responding that they spoke 3 linguistic varieties is particularly salient in the India category as is the small number of India category informants reporting that they spoke 1 (8.7% of informants) or 2 (7.7% of informants) linguistic varieties.

5.1.3 Interview informant linguistic repertoires and further evidence for multiple language repertoires

Informant 44 described the language situation in Dharamsala: 'in Dasa like trees over the place, so they have already local language, plus Tibetan three languages Kham, Amdo, Utsang, plus the foreigners are always here and there, so Dasa language is very variety right, very variety in Dasa, people use more their English, then local people even Tibetans use

[42] These informants resided at Sara College and *Sara-skad* is a term used by students and alumni of Sara College to describe a particular Tibetic variety, therefore in this case *Sera-skad* does not refer to a Tibetic variety associated with Sera monastery in Tibet.

[43] This research focused on the salient linguistic and Tibetic varieties in the TDD. Due to the fact that these varieties were informant-reported means that they are informant-defined; thus in certain instances, *east-speak* or *Tibetan-orissa-skad* for example, an unresolved ambiguity is created regarding what these terms define precisely. Linguistic varieties such as *Ladakhi*, *mon-skad* or *pema-kyopa-skad* are varieties originating from locations east of Tibet. Again, there is an unresolved issue regarding the nature of the speakers who report speaking these varieties. However it is not within the scope of this research to establish these particular details, and it is considered appropriate to present them here as (1) the informant-led nature of the research dictates it, and (2) their presence in the TDD is the aspect worthy of being reported on.

Hindi, Tibetans, those who are communication with tourists then English, then Tibetan community use 3 province language, so variety place of Dasa is rich language'.

Figure 5.3 depicts the linguistic repertoires of the interview informants in an eyeball judgement form. The chart depicts informant-reported repertories in the same manner as the data from the QS informants. Unless otherwise stated in the key on the chart then the order of the linguistic varieties indicates ability with the first variety reported as the strongest (please see appendix 2 Table A2.10 for details). To contextualise the variety of responses Figure 5.4 depicts the interview informants' responses to an enquiry as to their first languages. Tibetan, English, Hindi and Chinese were the three linguistic varieties informants reported most with informants stating that Tibetan or a variety of Tibetan was the linguistic variety they spoke best with the exception of informant 26 who reported speaking Hindi the best. However, all informants reported Tibetan or in a minority of cases a Tibetic variety as their first and only language.

Many of the informants stated that they believed Dharamsala to be a multiple linguistic environment and that this was perceived as a positive. Informant 4 stated that Tibetans from Tibet had good language skills, but his opinion regarding Shejak Tibetan spoken by Shejaks was less positive, 'for example, when the Chinese speak English that's just what Shejak are like speaking Tibetan'. Informant 7 said that, 'now these days there are lots of Tibetans who speak, Khampas, Amdos, but when I was little, when I was a little kid in Dasa we hardly see new arrivals coming here, settling here is Dasa so in that case we normally speak Shejak Tibetan, but these days there are all four varieties, I think, of Tibetan speaking'. 'It can be strange to live in a community for a long time and that you still don't understand someone', 'If you go to Tipa Road and talk with an old lady or old man who is from Southern Tibet, Dopa, it's quite difficult to understand'.

Figure 5.3 Interview informant linguistic repertoires

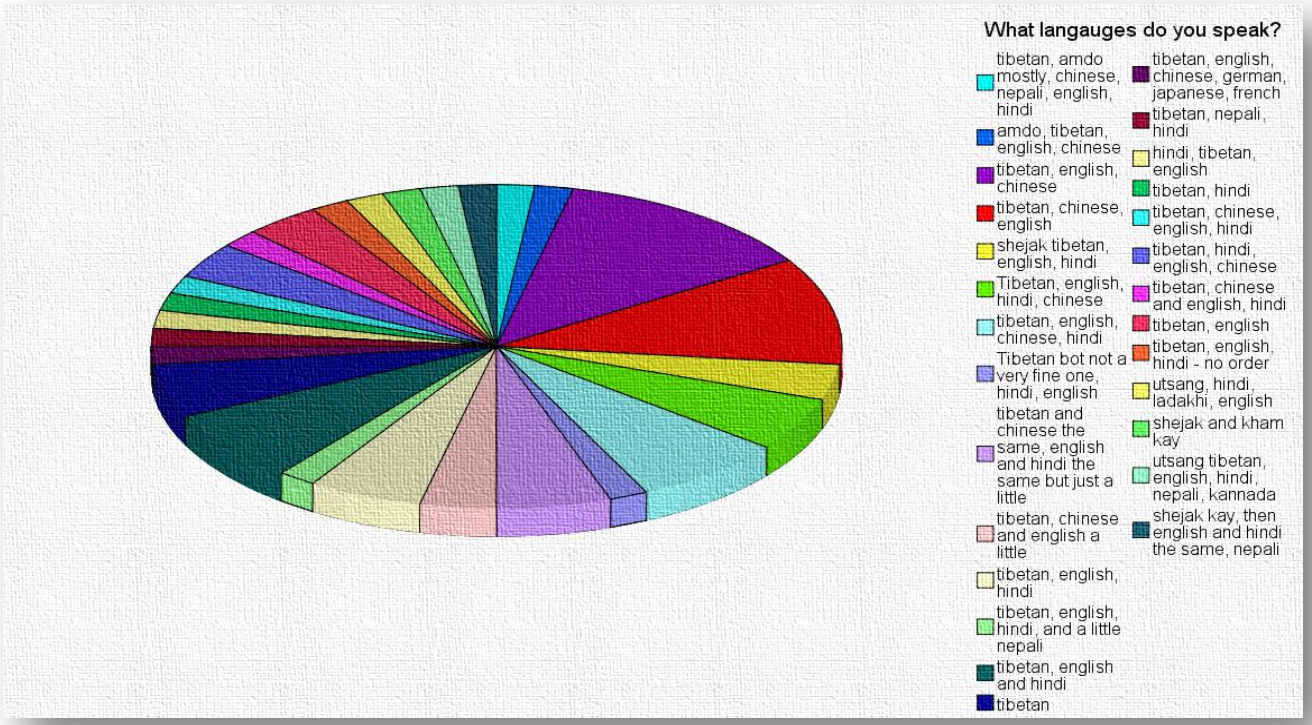
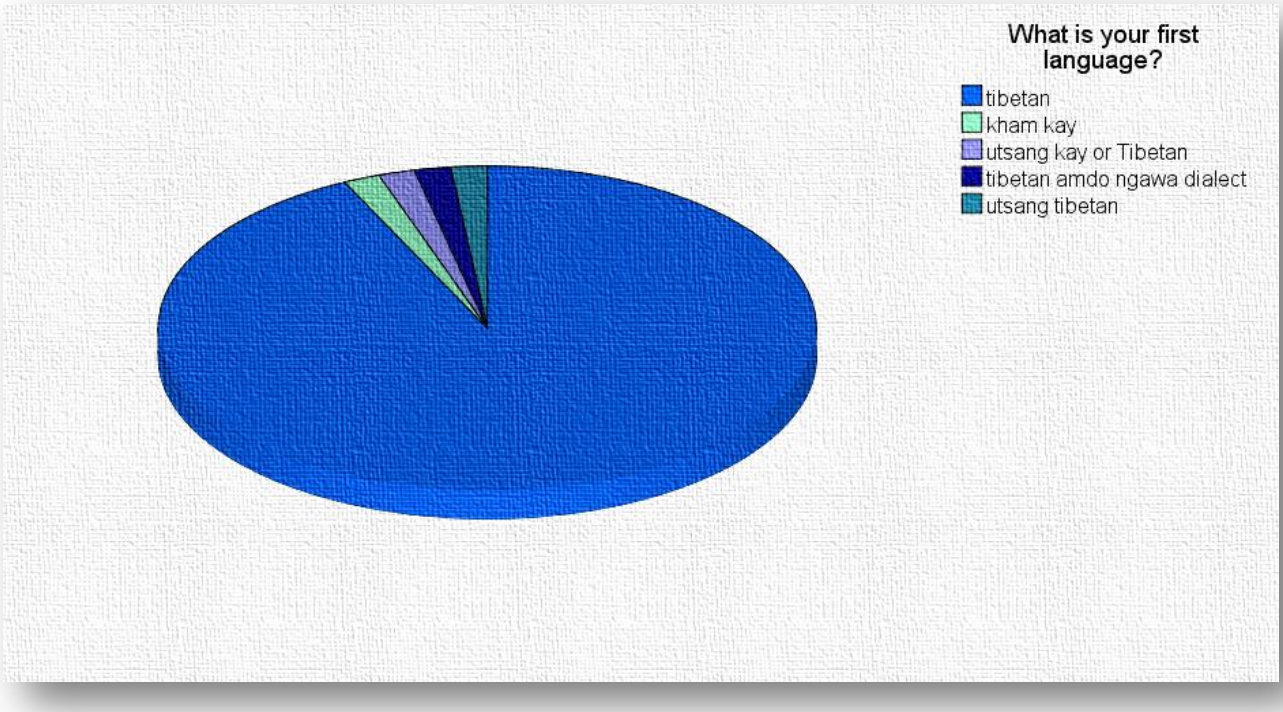


Figure 5.4 Interview informant responses stating first languages



5.1.4 English

Informants 2 and 3 stated that most people in the TDD use English. I asked several informants if they thought Tibetans ever used English to speak with each other. Generally the informants responded by stating that Tibetans always used Tibetan when speaking with other Tibetans. Informant 6 believed that 2 out of 3 TDD members knew Hindi and 2 out of 3 knew Chinese 'but not well'. Informant 9 stated that she could not describe the language situation in Dharamsala, 'because she is disappointed'. When I asked why she said that while lots of people had a good education in English they were 'not keeping our language therefore very sad'. She reiterated her point saying that she was suffering because TDD members were not keeping the Tibetan language while acquiring English and Hindi. Informant 11 agreed stating that English was the most spoken language in Dharamsala and that most people were using or learning English. He believed not many Tibetans were learning Tibetan and not interested in learning Tibetan. Informant 31 described the language situation in Dharamsala as 'very poor' because '60% of Tibetan people are learning English, so they don't have an interest in Tibetan', but believed Tibetans did not talk English with each other. Informant 38 stated that he thought Tibetans did speak in English together 'sometimes' and agreed it was the most widely spoken language in Dharamsala.

5.2 Questionnaire survey informant-reported Tibetic variety repertoires

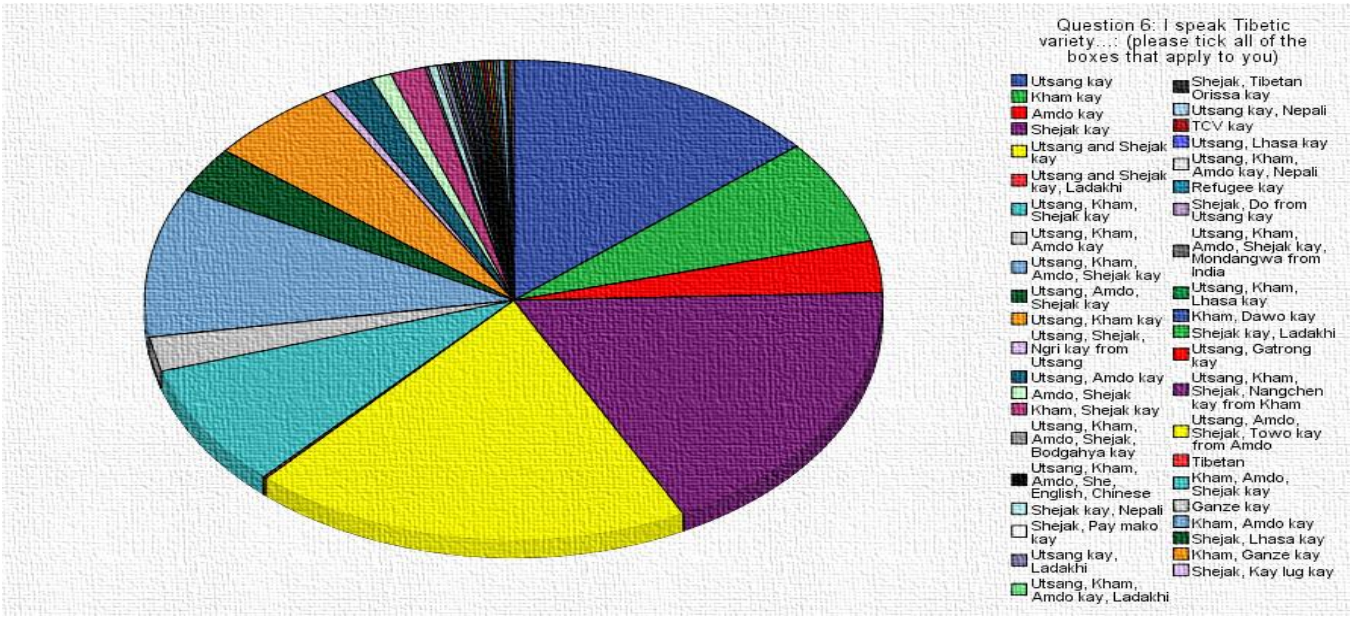
In this section the Tibetic varieties of QS informants are presented. It was perceived to be advantageous to separate the QS informant language repertoires and the Tibetic variety repertoires into these two sections as the research, in conjunction with the predominant view in the TDD, categorised Tibetic varieties as variants of the Tibetan language, yet the research does not identify a particular Tibetic variety as being a standard or a high status variety being

more representative of the Tibetan language and thus other varieties as not. While TDD members may choose to assign status or stigmatise variants of the Tibetan language, the research emphasises a perspective which perceives all linguistic varieties as being equal regardless of any further association.

When stating what Tibetic varieties they spoke, QS informants were presented with five categories (dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad and 'other, please specify') and instructed that all categories were available for selection. Figure 5.5 depicts QS informant responses regarding their reported spoken Tibetic variety repertoires in an eyeball judgement form. The salient details of these data are reported on here, however please see Appendix 2 tables A2.15 – A2.23 for a full account of informants' Tibetic repertoires.'

In total there are 41 categories depicted, 8 of which are single item responses (dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, TCV-skad, refugee-skad, Tibetan and ganze-skad) and 33 multiple item responses. In total 22 linguistic varieties were recorded in this section.

Figure 5.5 Tibetic varieties spoken by QS informants



In total, regardless of whether in a single or multiple Tibetic repertoire, 518 informants (66.8%) stated that they spoke dbus-gtsang-skad, 490 (63.1%) shejak-skad, 282 (36.3%) khams-skad, and 176 (22.7%) a-mdo-skad. Other Tibetic varieties stated were Bodhgaya-skad, pay-mako-skad, Tibetan-orissa-skad, TCV-skad, lhasa-skad, refugee-skad, do-skad from Utsang, dawo-skad, rgyal-rong-skad, nangchen-skad from Kham, tsowo-skad from Amdo, ganze-skad from Kham, and kay-lug-skad.[44]

Of the main four Tibetic varieties as single item cases shejak-skad (139 informants, 17.9%) was the largest followed by dbus-gtsang-skad (108, 13.9%), khams-skad (55, 7.1%) and then a-mdo-skad (27, 3.5%). In addition only 4 other informants (0.5%) stated that they had a single item linguistic repertoire (Tibetan, ganze-skad, TCV-skad, refugee-skad).

All other informants reported having acquired multiple variety repertoires. By far the largest category was dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad with 150 informants (19.3%). The Tibetic varieties of dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad prominently featured in the larger multiple Tibetic repertoires, often in conjunction with khams-skad. 78 informants (10%) reported a multiple Tibetic variety repertoire of dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad, 65 informants (8.4%) dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad and shejak-skad, and 44 informants (5.7%) dbus-gtsang-skad and khams-skad. A-mdo-skad also featured in conjunction with these Tibetic varieties, yet to a less significant degree 24 informants (3.1%) reported a multiple Tibetic variety repertoire of dbus-gtsang-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad, 18 informants (2.3%) dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad and a-mdo-skad, and 14 informants (1.8%) dbus-gtsang-skad and a-mdo-skad. shejak-skad continued to be reported

[44] Informant-led data dictated that certain varieties are defined as languages and Tibetic varieties. These instances may represent errors in reporting categorisation of linguistic varieties. However, they are included and therefore should be interpreted as possibly erroneous and/or valid informant expressions. Please assume this ambiguity. In valuing informant responses the data should not be viewed as authoritative but authentic. It is an acceptable contradiction for informants to categories Ladakhi and both a language and Tibetic variety for example or for that matter Tibetan-orissa-skad as the nature of the research is to collect and report on informants' perspectives.

by informants with a further 12 informants (1.5%) stating that they spoke khams-skad and shejak-skad, 7 informants (0.9%) a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad, 4 informants (0.5%) dbus-gtsang-skad, Shejak-skad and ngari-skad, and 3 informants (0.4%) shejak-skad and Nepali. A further 26 informants (3.4%) stated that they had various multiple variety repertoires not mentioned here due to the significantly small numbers.

As mentioned in the footnotes a number of informants in this section reported having what may be considered non-Tibetic varieties in their repertoires (3 informants (0.4%) shejak-skad and Nepali, 2 (0.3%) dbus-gtsang-skad and Ladakhi, 1 (0.1%) dbus-gtsang-skad and Nepali, 1 (0.1%) shejak-skad and Ladakhi, 1 (0.1%) dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad and Ladakhi, 1 (0.1%) dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and Ladakhi and 1 (0.1%) dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and Nepali). Therefore 7 of these informants (0.9%) could be categorised as having single item Tibetic variety repertoires (particularly depending on how Ladakhi is classified), while 3 (0.4%) have multiple Tibetic variety repertoires.

Table 5.3 Frequency of QS informant's spoken Tibetic variety repertoires

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 variety	336	41.9	43.3	43.3
	2 varieties	245	30.6	31.6	74.9
	3 varieties	113	14.1	14.6	89.4
	4 varieties	81	10.1	10.4	99.9
	5 varieties	1	.1	.1	100.0
	Total	776	96.9	100.0	
Missing	System	25	3.1		
Total		801	100.0		

Tables 5.3 and 5.4 depict the frequency and descriptive statistics of the number of Tibetic varieties in QS informants' spoken repertoires. 440 informants (56.7%) report having

multiple Tibetic variety repertoires. Nonetheless the largest category is the 1 Tibetic variety category with 336 informants (43.3%).

Table 5.4 Descriptive statistics of QS informant spoken Tibetic variety repertoires

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	776	1.00	5.00	1.9253	1.00172
Valid N (listwise)	776				

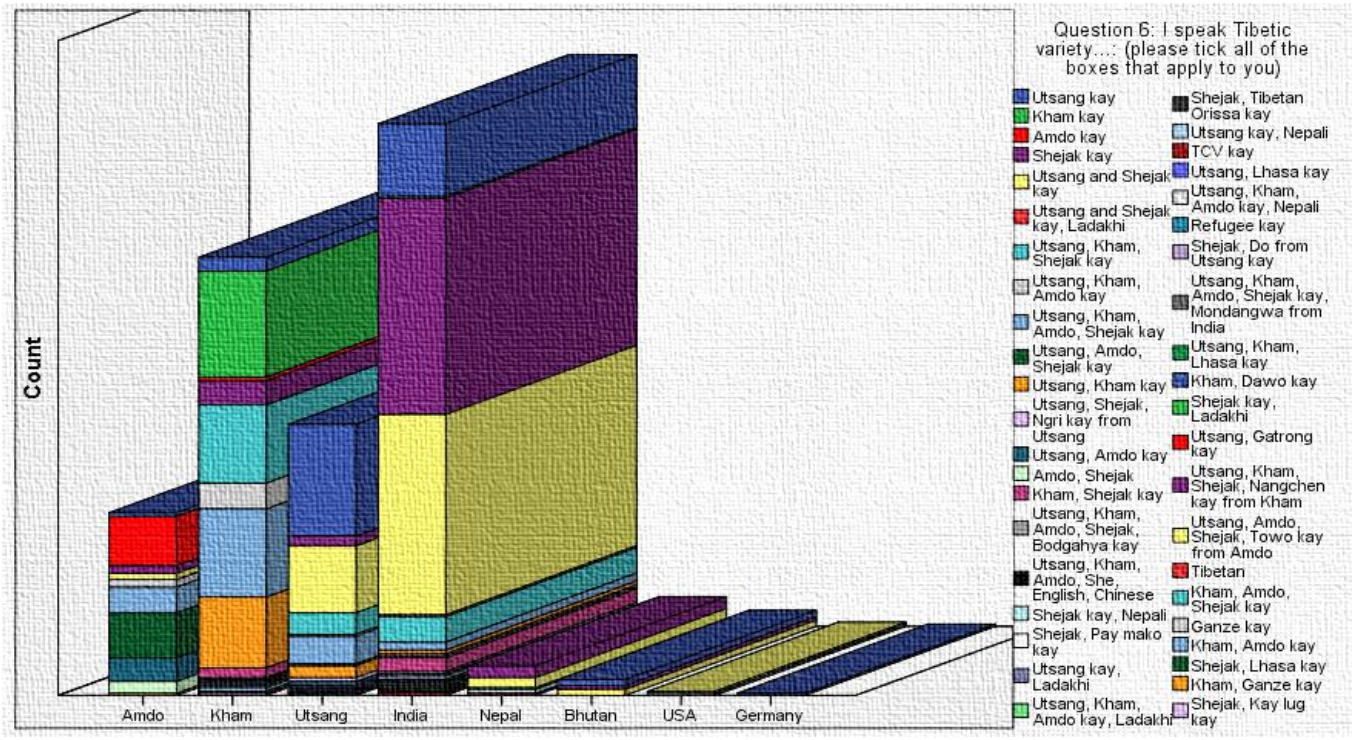
5.2.1 Questionnaire survey informant Tibetic variety repertoire results categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 5.6 depicts the Tibetic varieties spoken by QS informants categorised by place of birth in an eyeball judgement form. The salient details of these data are reported on here, however please see Appendix 2 tables A2.15 – A2.23 for a full account of informants' Tibetic repertoires. Responses for each of the Cholka-sum categories indicated the saliency of multiple Tibetic variety speakers (Amdo; 7 of 10 category responses, Kham; 12 of 17, Utsang; 13 of 15). In total 5 Tibetic varieties were present in the Amdo category, 9 in the Kham and Utsang categories. The India category responses also produced the salient response of multiple Tibetic variety speakers with 17 of 22 response categories having multiple items with 12 Tibetic varieties.

The place of birth categories correspond with the largest number of Tibetic variety speakers of that category. 84 (90.3%) informants from the Amdo category spoke a-mdo-skad, 200 (89.7%) informants from the Kham category spoke khams-skad, 131 (94.9%) informants from the Utsang category spoke dbus-gtsang-skad and 243 (83.5%) informants from the India category spoke shejak-skad. Apart from the Utsang category, where it was the first, dbus-gtsang-skad was reported as the second most widely spoken variety with similar percentages

for each category (58 informants (62.4%) in Amdo, 143 (64.1%) in Kham and 166 (57%) in India).

Figure 5.6 Tibetic varieties spoken by QS informants categorised by place of birth



Shejak-skad also featured strongly throughout the categories. In the Amdo and Kham categories it was the third largest Tibetic variety with 50 (53.8%) and 105 (47.1%) informants reporting spoken ability respectively. A similar percentage of respondents as the Amdo and Kham categories 71 Utsang category informants (51.4%) reported speaking shejak-skad.

Exclusive of the place of birth categories most associated with a-mdo-skad and khams-skad, other Sanjo category informants reported speaking these varieties in larger numbers than Shejak category informants. 17 Amdo informants (18.3%) and 34 Utsang informants (24.6%) reported speaking khams-skad, while 63 Kham informants (28.3%) and 20 Utsang informants (14.5%) stated that they spoke a-mdo-skad. In the India category 29 informants (10%)

reported speaking khams-skad and 6 (2.1%) a-mdo-skad. Only one other informant from a Shejak category (USA) reported speaking khams-skad and a-mdo-skad.

The largest response for all of the major place of birth categories is the single item response of the Tibetic variety most associated with that category. 25 (26.9%) of the 93 Amdo informants stated that they spoke a-mdo-skad, 54 (24.2%) of the 223 Kham informants spoke khams-skad, 57 (41.3%) of the 138 Utsang informants spoken dbus-gtsang-skad, and 110 (37.8%) of the 291 India informants spoke shejak-skad. Regarding the research question attempting to establish informants' repertoires it is of particular interest to note the reporting of shejak-skad by India category informants. Therefore, not only does the data indicate that the Shejak identity construct is reported in similar ways as the Cholka-sum equivalents, but the diasporic Tibetic variety is reported by India category informants in a similar way to how Cholka-sum category informants reported the Tibetic varieties that are considered to relate most to their categories.

The extent to which both dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad are reported are salient features of all of the major place of birth categories informant responses.

The largest multiple item responses in the Amdo category;

- dbus-gtsang-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad (23 informants, 24.7%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad (13, 14%)

The largest multiple item responses in the Kham category;

- dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad (45, 20.2%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad and shejak-skad (40, 17.9%)

The largest multiple item responses in the Utsang category;

- dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad (34, 24.6%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad (14, 10.1%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad and shejak-skad (11, 8%)

The largest multiple item response in the India category;

- dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad (102, 35.1%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad (37, 12.7%)
- dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad (13, 4.5%).

Descriptive statistics of place of birth category informants indicate that Kham informants speak a mean average of 2.32 Tibetic varieties with 34.1% speaking one Tibetic variety, 24.7% three and 20.6% two and four varieties. Amdo informants speak a mean average of 2.28 Tibetic varieties with 29% speaking one and two Tibetic varieties, 26.9% three and 15.1% four varieties. Utsang informants speak a mean average of 1.90 Tibetic varieties with 44.9% speaking one Tibetic variety, 32.6% two and 10.9% three and four varieties. India informants speak a mean average of 1.60 Tibetic varieties with 53.3% speaking one Tibetic variety, 39.9% two and 5.5% three, and 1.4% four varieties.

The data presented in this section allows the research to surmise that the majority of informants report themselves as multiple Tibetic variety speakers often retaining the Tibetic variety most associated with their intra-Tibetan group and acquiring Cholka-sum and diasporic Tibetic varieties. However, the data suggest that the TDD speech community accommodates mono-Tibetic variety speaker as well as multiple Tibetic variety speakers.

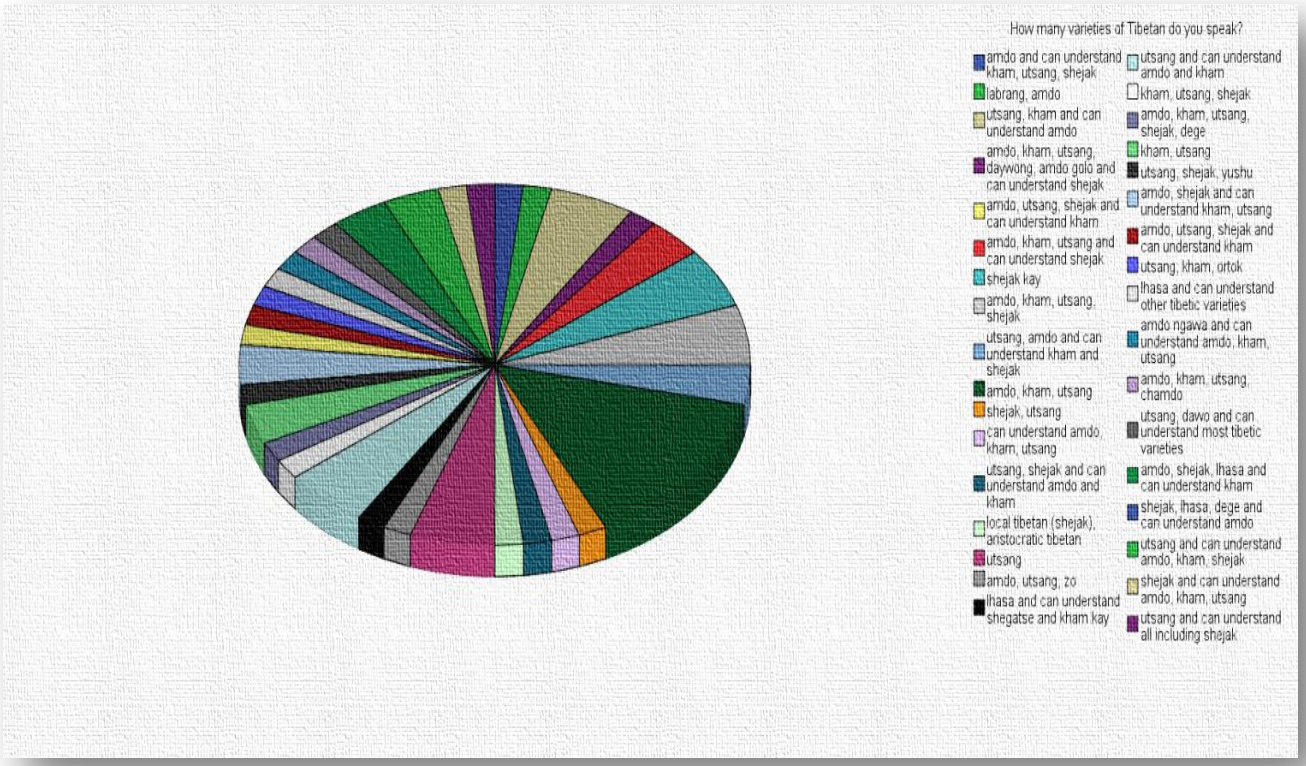
5.2.2 Interview informants' explanations of multiple Tibetic repertoires

Figure 5.8 depicts the responses of the interview informants regarding the number of Tibetic varieties they reported speaking in an eyeball judgement form (please see appendix 2 Table A2.24 for details). All informants apart from informants 7, 17, 20, 23, 26, 42 reported having multiple Tibetic repertoires. Several of the informants reported the need for Tibetans to know all three Cholka-sum Tibetic regional varieties. Informant 17 expressed the belief that knowing all three regional Tibetic varieties benefited communication, and informant 25 believed TDD members needed to know all three regional Tibetic varieties for the benefit of the relationship of intra-Tibetan regional group members. Informant 40 stated that acquiring all three regional Tibetic varieties was necessary, as 'it's important to study all aspects of one country'. Informant 38 believed that Tibetans in India could understand multiple Tibetic varieties. Informant 2 described the linguistic aspect of the TDD situation regarding the acquiring of multiple Tibetic variety comprehension as 'good' as it was seen as being beneficial for Tibetans returning to Tibet.

Several informants explicitly expressed the notion that they believed only speaking one Tibetic variety was problematic. Informant 8 stated that 'it is wrong [to learn shejak-skad]. We must know all Tibetan varieties'. Informant 1 believed that 'Tibetans from Tibet know 3 province speaking but Shejak can't understand all 3'. He stated that 'Kham and Amdo from Tibet that live in Dharamsala speak Shejak but not exactly' and that 'Shejak speak *che-skad'*.[45] He states that 'if I meet Amdo I speak Amdo but if I use shejak-skad others can understand', 'Dasa speaking everyone understands' 'Shejak speaking is similar to che-skad but with bad grammar'.

[45] Spri-skad (སྤྲི་སྐད་) /ʧeɪ-keɪ/ defined as a 'normal', 'common' or 'general' linguistic variety, often of a particular location. In this study referred to as che-skad; the initial syllable as a simplified phonetic representation and the latter the Wylie transliteration as used throughout the thesis.

Figure 5.7 Interview informant's Tibetic variety repertoires



5.2.2.1 Che-skad (general speak)

The concept of che-skad arose during the interview stage. Che-skad was identified as a description of a variety which is similar to that of lingua franca. In essence interlocutors with different regional associations were considered to be speaking che-skad when using a language that was considered common to both of them. Therefore in combination with acquiring multiple Tibetic varieties, the use of che-skad signified a stratagem which involved interlocutors manipulating the knowledge of the Tibetic varieties in their repertoires to the benefit of communicating with other TDD members. Informant 28 talked about the linguistic concept in the Tibetan language of che-skad, 'I already mentioned in Nepal reception [centre] we all Tibetan we find it difficult to understand each other, it shows that we should understand I mean when we speak with Kham and Amdo when they speak we should

understand each other cause we all learn Tibetan language but still we found it difficult to understand right, it's not only enough to, you know, to know only one Tibetan language, is not enough, actually all Tibetan language is the same but the big difference is the accent'.

'Che-skad means that normal when you use… okay for example you came from Amdo and I came from Utsang, you use your own accent but some words you use my accent, here in Dasa some people do this kind of way, you use my accent sometimes I use your accent'.

'In Tibet we don't have che-skad, here we need to use che-skad, cause three regions people come here and stay in this kind of society we called che-skad but you know it's normally all people can understand but when I was in Nepal reception centre I can't use che-skad, cause if we use che-skad maybe I can say I should understand Amdo and Kham as well. I can say it's quite hard to say we don't have a che-skad normally in my town I use my own accent but then when I come to Lhasa I use their accent'.

5.2.2.2 Identifying Shejak-skad

Sanjo informants' responses to labelling a Tibetic variety in their repertoire as shejak-skad were diverse. What was often qualified as shejak-skad in one instance was also then labelled as 'Shejak and Utsang' or 'three province speaking' (informant 1). 'Three province speaking' involved 'using a mix of Amdo, Kham and Utsang and was frequently described as 'che-skad' or 'general speak'. It was typically stated by informants that Tibetans from all three provinces understand che-skad but not all Tibetans understood dbus-gtsang-skad therefore shejak-skad was similar to che-skad (informant 1). One element that marked possible difference in categorisation was the perceived borrowing in shejak-skad of English and Hindi. Informant 1 stated that, 'after one year I know about shejak-skad, but even then when

they used English in Shejak I didn't understand'. Informant 6 stated that because he studies English it helps him to learn shejak-skad.

Informant 35 stated that, 'obviously there's more influence of Indian culture in shejak-skad, you know they have all those carrying all those English word and Hindi word among the Tibetans. One thing I find quite interesting is in shejak-skad there is more dominance of Central Tibetan dialect in there, especially from those if it's in Tibet it could be coming from a very er not remote but a far far away small town kind of dialect is pretty much there in shejak-skad, if you speak that kind of dialect of Tibetan in Lhasa they think uh you're villagers'. Conversely informant 57 believed that shejak-skad is based on the Lhasa dialect spoken by the first Tibetans to enter exile in 50 years ago. 'lhasa-skad was the backbone of shejak-skad then in the 80's Kham and Amdo, then mix, mix, mix. shejak-skad appears as quite a different accent among those other accents of Kham, Amdo and lhasa-skad'.

Informant 35 stated that Sanjos did not necessarily have to learn shejak-skad and described the effect of Sanjo migration on shejak-skad, 'not necessarily have to [learn], they just gradually, you know, adapt [to] all this new style of Tibetan speaking language, you know what I mean, now there is a, a, the shejak-skad is kind of actually shejak-skad is there is a mmmh, what's the word, integration, absorption of a dialect from different parts of Tibet since there are now Tibetans from all different parts of Tibet living in the area they speak a certain shejak-skad that is also with a little bit of their home dialect but still people can understand'. Informant 45 expressed agreement with this concept of a polynomic Tibetic variety model, stating that for every ten Tibetans in Dharamsala maybe eight of them have a different way of speaking Tibetan. Informant 36 expressed the opinion that Sanjos do not learn shejak-skad but, 'because we are staying in India itself so you know it just mix up'. This indicates the multiple-Tibetic aspect of shejak-skad, yet informant 36 does also refers to a Shejak Tibetic variety spoken by Shejak Tibetans which she differentiates by stigmatising,

‘it’s normal for people to not want to speak shejak-skad’, ‘I don’t want to, you know, talk, ah, don’t want to listen the way they [Shejak Tibetans] are talking, like if they are just requesting us, but in the way of their speaking is like just ordering us’.

5.2.2.3 Shejak-skad

‘They have different speaking one is good and one is bad, in Tibet mix with Chinese in India mix with Hindi and English. In exile use lhasa-skad or dbus-gtsang-skad with wrong grammar so it’s bad’ (informant 38).

Shejak-skad was reported in a number of different ways. Typically it was described as ‘mixed’. This refers to mixed varieties of Tibetan and Tibetan mixed with English and Hindi. Informant 1 from Amdo stated that some Shejak Tibetans spoke shejak-skad using Tibetan but in an ‘English language way’. Many of the informants emphasised that there are many different variants of shejak-skad. The shejak-skad in Dharamsala and Delhi was seen to be different, while South India, specifically Karnataka, and the north east (Darjeeling and Assam) were seen as having their own variants of shejak-skad. The status of shejak-skad was often reported in contradictory terms. Shejak Tibetans reported that they spoke ‘normal’ or ‘local’ Tibetan, yet would also state that they mixed their Tibetan with Hindi and English. Shejak informant 44 referred to his Tibetan as ‘*ra-ma-luk*’ indicating, in this particular instance, a mixed multiple Tibetic variety. Shejak Tibetan spoken in the east of India or in Nepal was regarded as having ‘broken grammar’. Many Sanjo Tibetans described shejak-skad in negative terms, for example it was seen as a ‘very simple language’, ‘they [Shejak Tibetans] can’t speak in Tibetan’. With regards to the status of the Tibetan language in general some informants expressed their dismay that it was seen as more practical to learn Chinese in Tibet or English in the diaspora in that it was considered more beneficial for procuring work.

Shejak informant 7 was asked if she thought she spoke proper Tibetan to which she replied, 'to me, I think proper Tibetan is not mixing [with] other languages'. She expressed the idea that it would be, 'fine if one spoke Shejak Tibetan but didn't mix with English or Hindi'. I asked her if Shejaks use *zhe-sa* (honorifics) in an incorrect way, to which she replied 'sometimes', then making a distinction between herself and another group of Shejak Tibetans from the north east of India: 'they speak north east broken Shejak', 'they speak funny Tibetan, we used to laugh'. Compared to this she stated that, 'I think Tibetans from Dasa speak very nice Tibetan, because they don't get mingled with Indians or other community people, we live in one community'. When I asked informant 7 if she ever used khams-skad or a-mdo-skad she said she did not, even though she had some Khampa friends. I asked her if she understood khams-skad to which she replied, 'a little, but they do not speak pure Khampa with me, but with their parents they speak pure, Khampa language'. When asked how her Khampa friends spoke with her, she stated that they used 'normal Shejak Tibetan'. I asked her if she thought that if TDD members wanted to communicate in Tibetan with members of different Tibetan intra-groups they had to speak Shejak Tibetan to which she replied, 'Yes, not Utsang, but I think Utsang and Shejak are like the same… the difference is the use of honorifics and mixing'.

Informant 35 described shejak-skad in Dharamsala; 'shejak-skad is now what we call the commonly used Tibetan dialect in exile, but then with more and more people coming from different parts of Tibet into exile and this shejak-skad is also kind of changing based on that, but still you know it's the same kind of shejak-skad that everyone would understand in exile'.

5.2.2.4 *Zhe-sa* (honorifics) in shejak-skad

Informant 53 stated that 'there's no zhe-sa' in shejak-skad. 'In Shejak they even don't use the polite words to their parents, in Tibet even the children use to speak to their parents and elder man, but in Shejak mostly the same way, same language use between parents and children and older and younger'. 'Firstly I feel like it's some kind of rude, then later I feel like they are more frank, I feel like they are more frank and freely, because I lived in Tibet up to 5th grade in school I have an experience with the teachers in Tibet, there is a big gap between the teachers in India and Tibet, in Tibet the students usually very afraid of teachers, when they came in the class, they never speak freely with the teachers, India I feel is very free and open and more frank the relations between teacher and students so I don't feel like rude, I feel like it's quite free and frank and so I don't think this is the rude, if there is so much polite and so much zhe-sa it's naturally feel like there is a big gap between teachers, but a little bit polite is needed, because we have to respect our parents and teachers, when they call our names we don't reply 'ah' this is some kind of low, we have to say 'la' this is the needed one, but so much polite and this is some kind of restriction. I feel like this'.

Informant 1 marked a difference between dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad by stating that dbus-gtsang-skad uses 'lots of honorifics' yet 'Shejak use honorifics but in the wrong way'. He stated that he thought lhasa-skad used too many honorific terms yet when asked about how he feels when he hears Tibetan spoken 'badly' he states that 'I feel very sad, but there is a benefit, I should feel confident about never losing the Tibetan language'. I asked him if Tibetans correct other Tibetans when they hear bad Tibetan, to which he replied, 'Tibetans don't accept being corrected'. Informant 45 also differentiates shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad by stating that dbus-gtsang-skad is more respectful, 'dbus-gtsang-skad everything is

respectful, even in fighting'. He develops this point by stating that people from Utsang use honorific terms to address children and even dogs.

5.2.2.5 Shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad differentials

Sanjo informants from the Utsang regional group did not perceive Utsang Tibetan and Shejak Tibetan as the same linguistic entity. Informant 35 expressed the belief that shejak-skad was influenced by a number of varieties originating from the Utsang region but Utsang informants stated that they shared similar experiences to other Sanjo informant groups when entering exile in terms of comprehending Shejak varieties. I asked informant 18 if she could understand shejak-skad when she first came to India, to which she replied, 'No I can't understand, my younger sister spoke very quickly and I don't understand'. I asked her how long it took her to acquire comprehension in shejak-skad to which she replied, 'when I was class ten cause I moved from Suja School to Dasa, in Suja they don't speak shejak-skad, then in Upper TCV it took two years, two months I knew that'. I asked her if Tibetans born in India could understand her at Upper TCV to which she replied, 'yeah a little bit, then we try to talk more and more then we understand each other'. Informant 25 from Utsang stated that when he first came to Dharamsala he only understood 'half' of shejak-skad and that now after three years he still does not understand shejak-skad completely. Informant 41 expressed the opinion that when he first came to Dharamsala he could understand shejak-skad 'as it's similar to dbus-skad' but as he spoke khams-skad Shejak Tibetans could not understand him.

5.2.2.6 Difference between shejak-skad and other Tibetic varieties

Informants from Kham described the differences between khams-skad and shejak-skad in a number of ways. Informant 55 stated that there is 'a big difference'. She states that as well as 'a little English' being used in shejak-skad, 'shejak-skad is more faster than mine, they use short cuts'. Informant 3 states that shejak-skad is, 'totally different. First we can't understand what they say, it's not pure Tibetan, mix with English and Hindi'. Conversely informant 40 believes that, 'actually speak is similar between shejak-skad and khams-skad but the sound is different. Shejak mostly slang'. Informant 45 states that 'Kham speak is direct, shejak-skad is respectful'.

Informant 2 believed *labrang-skad* (an Amdo Tibetic variety) and shejak-skad to be 'totally different' but stated that 'shejak-skad and lhasa-skad are similar', but qualified this with 'most people here speak lhasa-skad but not very correct'. Informant 17 agreed that a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad were 'completely different', 'shejak-skad is similar to lhasa-skad because Lhasa language is easy to understand, but when they [Amdowa] speak they are formal with manner, Shejak isn't formal, not that bad but it's okay, but they [Shejak] don't use 'la' or 'los' which means good manner'.

Informant 9 expressed the belief that there was a 'big difference' between shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad. Informant 56 agreed stated that there was a 'huge difference, shejak is like dbus-skad but there is also a difference from dbus and shejak-skad', 'there is no purity in shejak-skad'. Informant 10 stated that shejak-skad was a mixture of lots of languages, naming dbus, gtsang, dopa, English and Hindi, and stating that 'Shejak speaking is not clear about Tibetan speaking, also Utsang is very clear and direct from the Tibetan language'.

Informant 28 stated that, 'for me maybe the Tibetan people in Tibet some of them use the Chinese words when they speak Tibetan, here in exile the Shejak use English words or Hindi.

‘I found when they [Shejak] speak some they speak very polite but some I found impolite when they speak, when they mix the Hindi and English words’.

Informant 56 believes that dbus-skad and shejak-skad is the same but dbus-skad has more ‘antique’ words and shejak-skad more ‘modern’ words, ‘dbus-skad is pure because it has antique words’. Informant 13 stated that, ‘now the way I speak is very common among Tibetan younger generation’. She explains that, ‘so dbus-gtsang-skad is the very properly when my grandparents or older generation speaks proper Tibetan way.’ Informant 22 from Lhasa states that, ‘their way is a little bit different’. He describes the Shejak accent as ‘funny’ and states that ‘shejak-skad is grammatically wrong, not perfect’.

5.2.2.7 Stigmatisation of shejak-skad

The stigmatisation of shejak-skad was a defining element of how this Tibetic variety was perceived in the TDD. Informant 10 stated that he thought shejak-skad was not pure because it was mixed. This is a typical response from a Sanjo informant regarding shejak-skad, but Shejak informants also recognised that shejak-skad was not pure, ‘what we [Shejak Tibetans] speak is not pure’. Shejak informant 44 says that ‘even me my parents don’t understand’ ‘then Shejak [-skad] is very big problem that one, some are using Hindi language, mix up there, even I’m talking pure Tibet the person will be surely understand, but I will be three language something, first Tibetan, then other Hindi, then English, then they can’t understand’.

Several informants stated that they were reluctant to speak shejak-skad. Informant 8 described shejak-skad as ‘a little bit mistake’ but conceded that while she did not want to learn shejak-skad she used it to talk to Shejak children who could not understand her.

Informants 9 and 52 stigmatised shejak-skad because it was not ‘pure’ or ‘clear’ and added that their Sanjo Tibetic varieties were pure and that they did not want to mix the two. Informant 34 said that when Sanjos come to Dharamsala they think that Shejak Tibetans speaking ‘is like a child’s talk or a baby’s talk cause a baby doesn’t know many sounds’. Informant 43 shared a similar view in that he thought the Tibetan language was extensive and beautiful but shejak-skad was very limited and constrained.

Informant 4 expresses the notion that she does not have to learn shejak-skad. When I asked why she stated that, ‘Shejak speak is not good, not good speaking’. Informant 9 stigmatised the idea of learning shejak-skad, when asked why she stated that, ‘if it’s just Shejak then is like mute, if there are all these other varieties’. Informants 24 and 25 agreed, and both expressed the notion that shejak-skad was ‘not good’. I asked informant 11 from Kham if she spoke shejak-skad to which she replied, ‘no I don’t how to speak, cause I don’t like’. When asked why she stated that, ‘when they speak they mostly use English’.

5.3 The comparison between questionnaire survey informant-reported linguistic performance and comprehension

A primary issue of this research regarding TDD members’ Tibetic repertoires and speech practices is how levels of comprehension of Tibetic varieties are reported in comparison to that of reported spoken abilities. If significantly higher levels of comprehension were stated then the data would suggest that the TDD is a polynomic language situation. If polynomy in the TDD could be established then it should be contextualised with the premise that the majority of Tibetans, who reside in Tibet, are typically described as monolingual speakers in a monolingual setting without mutual intelligibility.

Comprehension data of non-Tibetic varieties was also collected as to provide a comparison. Therefore if informants reported similar increases or decreases in comprehension in all linguistic varieties then this would allow for the suggestion that the results were erroneous as it was expected that comprehension and performance abilities would be similar in languages such as English or Hindi. However, if spoken and comprehension results were similar for English, Hindi and Chinese but different for Tibetan then it could be suggested that the difference indicated polynomy if there was a significant increase in informant reported comprehension.

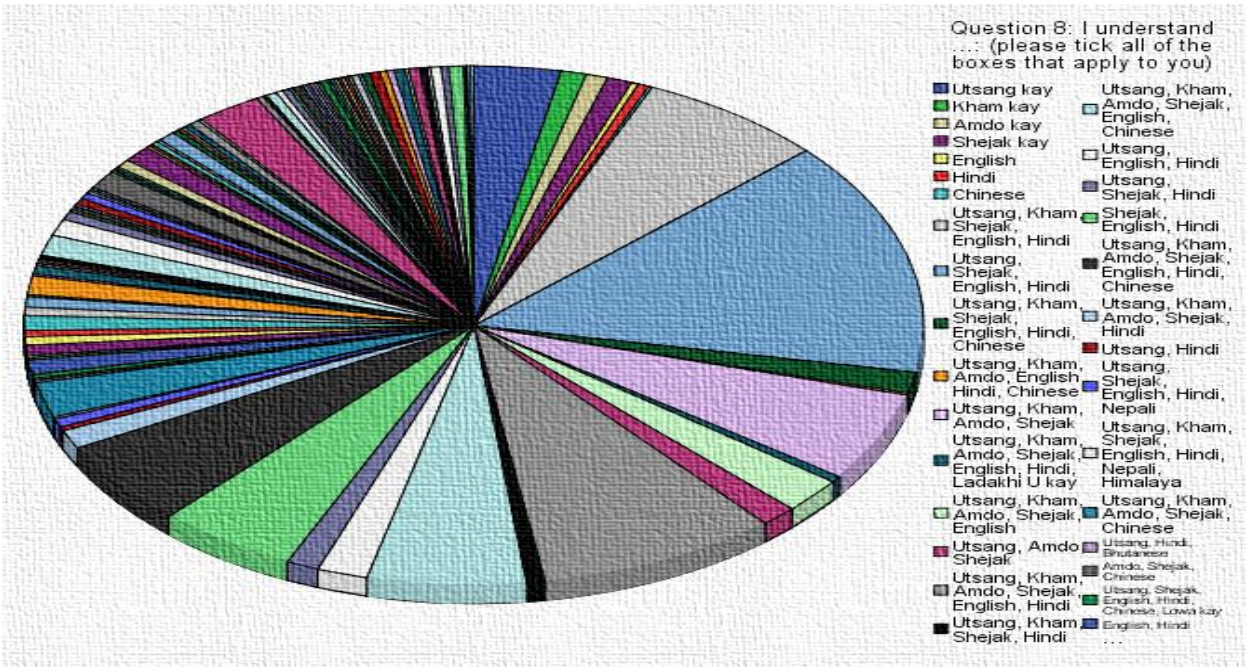
5.3.1 Questionnaire survey informant-reported linguistic comprehension

QS informants were presented with eight categories with regards to stating what linguistic and Tibetic varieties they understood (dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English, Hindi, Chinese and 'other, please specify') and instructed that all categories were available for selection. It is significant that the two categories of 'linguistic varieties' and 'Tibetic varieties' have been incorporated into one question, as 'Tibetan' as a category choice is absent. The motivation behind this question was to attempt to capture the comprehension abilities of informants regarding Tibetic varieties, therefore in designing the question 'Tibetan' was removed to allow the focus to be placed on the Tibetic variety aspect of the question. The other non-Tibetic varieties were used as it was perceived as useful to also collect data on these varieties so as to be able to compare the results.

Figure 5.8 depicts QS informant responses regarding their reported linguistic and Tibetic variety comprehension in an eyeball judgement form (please see appendix 2 tables A2.25 – A2.33 for details). In total there were 113 categories, 7 of which hold single-item responses, each reported by a small number of informants (dbus-gtsang-skad held 24 informants (3%),

khams-skad 7 (0.9%), a-mdo-skad 6 (0.7%), shejak-skad 7 (0.9%), English 2 (0.2%), Hindi 3 (0.4%) and Chinese 1 (0.1%)). The remaining 106 categories all hold multiple entities. In total 21 linguistic varieties were recorded in this section.

Figure 5.8 Languages and Tibetic varieties understood by QS informants



Including all single and multiple items responses 656 informants (85.1%) stated that they understood dbus-gtsang-skad, 619 (80.3%) shejak-skad, 438 (56.8%) khams-skad, 333 (43.2%) a-mdo-skad, 534 informants (69.3%) English, 477 informants (61.9%) Hindi, 189 informants (24.5%) Chinese, 34 informants (4.4%) Nepali, and 17 informants (2.2%) Ladakhi.

The largest multiple item responses were;

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (113 informants, 14.7%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (67, 8.7%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (52, 6.7%)

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English, Hindi and Chinese’ (44, 5.7%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad’ (43, 5.6%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English, Hindi and Chinese’ (41, 5.1%)

These six largest multiple item categories comprise of 360 informants (46.7%). A further 8 multiple item responses were reported by 10 or more informants but below 40 comprising of a total of 135 informants (17.5%) and a further 8 multiple item responses were reported by 7 or over informants but below 10 comprising of a total of 66 informants (8.6%). A further 4 multiple item responses were reported by 5 informants, each comprising a total of 20 informants (2.6%) while 7 multiple item responses were reported by 4 informants, each comprising a total of 28 informants (3.6%). A further 73 categories existed with 3 or less informants to each category, comprising a total of 112 informants (14.5%).

QS informants comprehended a mean average of 2.63 linguistic varieties and 2.72 Tibetic varieties. The largest category for comprehending linguistic varieties was three linguistic varieties with 50.5% of QS informant responses followed by two (18.2%) and one (17.3%). However, 33.6% of QS informants reported comprehending four Tibetic varieties, 29.5% two, 19.8% three and 16.7% one Tibetic variety.

5.3.2 Questionnaire survey informant linguistic comprehension results categorised using the place of birth variable

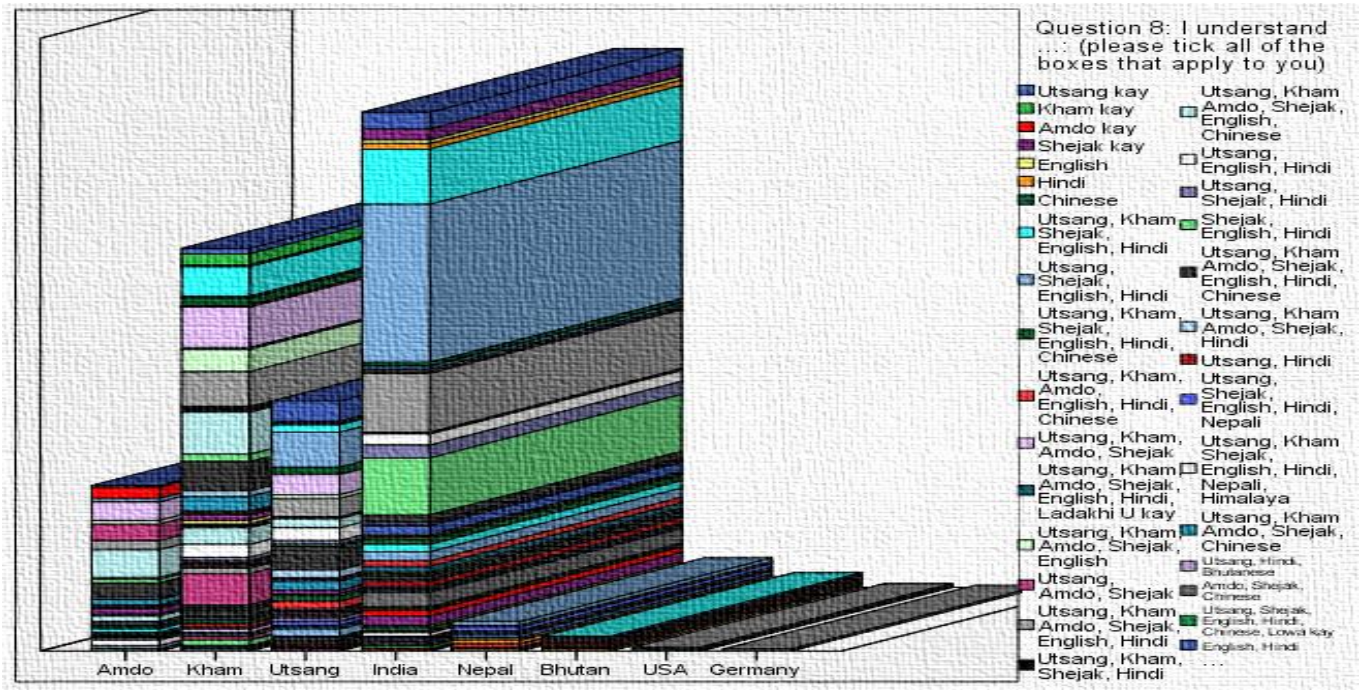
Figure 5.9 depicts QS informant responses regarding their reported Tibetic variety competence categorised by place of birth in an eyeball judgement form (please see appendix

2 tables A2.25 – A2.33 for details). In the Amdo category there were 29 responses 2 of which are single item responses and 27 multiple with a total of 8 linguistic varieties recorded. In the Kham category there were 48 responses, 3 of which are single item responses and 45 multiple with a total of 13 linguistic varieties recorded. In the Utsang category there were 41 responses, 3 of which are single item responses and 38 multiple with a total of 9 linguistic varieties recorded. In the India category there were 50 responses, 4 of which are single item responses and 46 multiple with a total of 14 linguistic varieties recorded. The smaller place of birth categories of Nepal, Bhutan, USA and German all held a majority of multiple item responses.

All of the major place of birth categories held large numbers of informants that reported comprehending dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad in high numbers. Including all single and multiple item cases 77 Amdo informants (85.6%), 202 Kham informants (92.2%), 128 Utsang informants (94.1%) and 224 India informants (76.5%) understood dbus-gtsang-skad. 68 Amdo informants (75.6%), 164 Kham informants (74.9%), 104 Utsang informants (76.5%) and 254 India informants (86.7%) reported comprehending shejak-skad.

A substantial number of informants from all place of birth categories reported understanding the Tibetic varieties of a-mdo-skad and khams-skad. 83 Amdo informants (92.2%), 123 Kham informants (56.2%), 61 Utsang informants (44.9%) and 60 India informants (20.5%) reported that they comprehended a-mdo-skad, and 41 Amdo informants (45.6%), 207 Kham informants (94.5%), 70 Utsang informants (57.4%) and 96 India informants (32.8%) reported that they comprehended khams-skad.

Figure 5.9 Languages and Tibetic varieties understood by QS informants categorised by place of birth



Of the other linguistic varieties reported in this section 49 Amdo informants (54.4%), 121 Kham informants (55.3%), 82 Utsang informants (60.3%) and 251 India informants (85.7%) stated that they understood English, while 24 Amdo informants (26.7%), 81 Kham informants (37%), 79 Utsang informants (58%) and 264 India informants (90.1%) stated that they understood Hindi. 40 Amdo informants (44.4%), 94 Kham informants (42.9%), 37 Utsang informants (27.2%) and 13 India informants (4.4%) stated that they understood Chinese. A further 13 other linguistic varieties were reported by informants in this section, yet in such numbers not to warrant inclusion here.

The most significant responses in the four major categories regarding the comprehension results were as follows:

In the Amdo category, with a total of 90 informants;

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English and Chinese’ (15, 16.7%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad’ (10, 11.1%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad’ (9, 10%)

In the Kham category, with a total of 219 informants;

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English and Chinese’ (23, 10.5%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad’ (22, 10%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (19, 8.7%)

In the Utsang category, with a total of 136 informants;

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (19, 14%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English, Hindi and Chinese’ (13, 9.6%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad’ (11, 8.1%)
- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad’ (11, 8.1%)

In the India category, with a total of 293 informants;

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (86, 29.4%)

- ‘dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (32, 10.9%)
- ‘shejak-skad, English and Hindi’ (31, 10.6%)

Amdo category informants comprehend a mean average of 2.31 linguistic varieties and 3.07 Tibetic varieties, Kham informants 2.37 linguistic varieties and 3.20 Tibetic varieties, Utsang informants 2.57 linguistic varieties and 2.72 Tibetic varieties, and India informants 2.87 linguistic varieties and 2.25 Tibetic varieties.

5.3.3 Correlation analysis regarding questionnaire survey informant comprehension results

Correlation tests employing Spearman’s rho were conducted using the number of linguistic varieties and Tibetic varieties informants reported as comprehending and the gender, age and number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties in informants’ spoken repertoires as variables (please see appendix 2 tables A2.34 – A2.37). Five statistically significance correlations were found. The first between male informants and the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended, signifying that the male informants are more likely to report comprehending a higher number of Tibetic varieties. The second and third between the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and the age of informants suggesting that an increase in the informants’ age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to comprehend more Tibetic varieties but fewer linguistic varieties. The fourth and fifth between the number of linguistic varieties comprehended and the number of linguistic varieties in informants’ spoken repertoires, and between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of Tibetic varieties in informants’ reported spoken repertoires. Taken at face value these

correlations show a trend in the increase of linguistic and Tibetic performance and comprehension, which would seem obvious, yet does not differentiate between an equal number of varieties regarding performance and comprehension. The initial correlations regarding the male variable and increased reports of Tibetic variety comprehension and an increase in age correlating with an increase in Tibetic variety comprehension and a decrease in linguistic variety comprehension appear more definitive.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the number of linguistic varieties and Tibetic varieties informants reported as comprehending and the gender, age and number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 2 tables A2.38 – A2.45).

The data suggest that Amdo and Kham informants are less likely to report having larger linguistic repertoires, yet are more likely to report having larger Tibetic variety repertoires. Conversely, India category informants are statistically less likely to report having larger Tibetic variety repertoires. There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India informants' responses suggesting an increase in the number of linguistic varieties informants comprehended corresponds to an increase in the number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoke repertoires.

There is a statistically significant correlation between female Kham informants and the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended signifying that the female Kham informants are more likely to report comprehending a higher number of Tibetic varieties compared to their male counterparts. There are also statistically significant correlations between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and the age of informants from Amdo, Kham and India suggesting that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to comprehend more Tibetic varieties. Finally, there are statistically significant correlations

between the place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India informants' responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties they comprehend and the number of Tibetic varieties in their spoken repertoires. In each case the statistically significant correlations suggest an increase in the number of linguistic varieties informants comprehended corresponds to an increase in the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires.

The interpretation of the statistically significant correlations between the place of birth variables and the dependent variables repeat that of the overall correlations in the previous section. An increase in Amdo, Kham and India informants' age correlates with an increase in comprehension of Tibetic varieties, female Kham informant variables also correlate with an increase in Tibetic variety comprehension. There are correlations between increases in performance and comprehension of varieties where the analysis of the previous section can be applied. However, possibly of the greatest relevance to the research are the results which suggest Amdo and Kham informant variables negatively correlate with an increase in linguistic repertoires, yet correlate with an increase in Tibetic repertoires, while India category informant variables negatively correlate with a reported increase in Tibetic variety repertoires. These data may suggest a number of factors in the TDD. Perhaps Amdo and Kham informants have stronger inter-Tibetan network connections than India category informants and therefore members of these groups acquire or are aware of acquiring more Tibetic varieties, or make clearer distinctions in the categorisation of Tibetic varieties. Perhaps the opposite could be suggested to explain the India informant data. However, it could be suggested that as shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad are spoken significantly in the India category then (1) polynomy may be a more extensive feature and (2) the shejak-skad repertoire is perhaps broad and ambiguous.

5.3.4 Comparisons between questionnaire survey informant's linguistic and Tibetic variety performance and comprehension results

In this section the data regarding both linguistic and Tibetic variety repertoires and competence is presented with the focus on comparing these results. Previously in this chapter the method employed regarding the presentation of the data focused on the valid responses on a question by question basis. This meant that the total number of informants often varied, yet to allow for an adequate comparison between reported linguistic and Tibetic variety repertoires and competence the decision was made to include all informant responses that had stated their place of birth. Therefore in the overall results section all valid responses are included yet in the place of birth section itself, as only the four major categories are reported on, the total number of informants for each category are as follows: 94 Amdo informants, 226 Kham informants, 140 Utsang informants and 301 India informants.

Table 5.5 QS informant responses regarding linguistic varieties spoken and understood with comparative differences

Linguistic variety	Spoken		Understood		Difference	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
dbus-gtsang-skad	518	65.7%	656	83.1%	+138	+17.4%
khams-skad	282	35.7%	438	55.5%	+156	+19.8%
a-mdo-skad	176	22.3%	333	42.2%	+157	+19.9%
shejak-skad	490	62.1%	619	78.5%	+129	+16.4%
Tibetan	*776	*99.6%	--	--	--	--
Hindi	464	58.8%	477	60.5%	+13	+1.7%
English	548	69.5%	534	67.7%	-14	-1.8%
Chinese	176	22.3%	189	24%	+13	+1.7%

*Of valid responses not total responses.

Table 5.5 depicts the data of informant-reported spoken and comprehension results and the difference between them. A particularly salient feature of the results is the difference between the Tibetic varieties and non-Tibetic varieties. The mean difference between reported spoken

ability in the four Tibetic varieties and competence in those four varieties is 18.4% while the mean for the three non-Tibetic varieties is 0.5%.

5.3.5 Comparisons between questionnaire survey informant linguistic and Tibetic variety performance and comprehension results categorised using the place of birth variable

Tables 5.6 to 5.9 depict informant reported data regarding the spoken and comprehension results and the difference between them categorised by place of birth. As previously mentioned the results in this section are limited to those of the larger place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India, while again, worthy of mention are the differences between Tibetic varieties and non-Tibetic varieties.

The means of the 3 non-Tibetic varieties regarding the percentage difference were as follows; there was a -1.8% mean for the Amdo category, a 2.8% mean for the Kham category, a -0.3% mean for the Utsang category and a -0.2% mean for the India category. Two sets of data were produced for the means of the Tibetic varieties. The first set presented here was calculated using all 4 varieties and the second only includes 3 Tibetic varieties, omitting the one most associated with the relative category of place of birth. Therefore, the mean difference between speaking and understanding in the Amdo category was 15.9%, 20.5% for the Kham category, 19.1% for the Utsang category and 15.8% for the India category. The mean difference as a percentage with the Tibetic variety most associated with the relative place of birth omitted were as follows; there was a 21.6% mean difference for the Amdo category, 26.2% for the Kham category, 26.2% for the Utsang category and 19.8% for the India category.

Table 5.6 QS informant responses from the Amdo place of birth category regarding linguistic varieties spoken and understood with comparative differences using all 94 cases

Linguistic variety	Spoken		Understood		Difference	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
dbus-gtsang-skad	58	61.7%	77	81.9%	+19	+20.2%
khams-skad	17	18.1%	41	43.6%	+24	+25.5%
a-mdo-skad	84	89.4%	83	88.3%	-1	-1.1%
shejak-skad	50	53.2%	68	72.3%	+18	+19.1%
Tibetan	*92	*100%	--	--	--	--
Hindi	27	28.7%	24	25.5%	-3	-3.2%
English	53	56.4%	49	52.1%	-4	-4.3%
Chinese	38	40.4%	40	42.6%	+2	+2.2%

*Of valid responses not total responses.

Table 5.7 QS informant responses from the Kham place of birth category regarding linguistic varieties spoken and understood with comparative differences using all 226 cases

Linguistic variety	Spoken		Understood		Difference	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
dbus-gtsang-skad	143	63.3%	202	89.4%	+59	+26.1%
khams-skad	200	88.5%	207	91.6%	+7	+3.1%
a-mdo-skad	63	27.9%	123	54.4%	+60	+26.5%
shejak-skad	105	46.5%	164	72.6%	+59	+26.1%
Tibetan	*219	*99.5%	--	--	--	--
Hindi	71	31.4%	81	35.8%	+10	+4.4%
English	122	54%	121	53.5%	-1	-0.5%
Chinese	84	37.2%	94	41.6%	+10	+4.4%

*Of valid responses not total responses.

Table 5.8 QS informant responses from the Utsang place of birth category regarding linguistic varieties spoken and understood with comparative differences using all 140 cases

Linguistic variety	Spoken		Understood		Difference	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
dbus-gtsang-skad	131	93.6%	128	91.4%	-3	-2.2%
khams-skad	34	24.3%	70	50%	+36	+25.7%
a-mdo-skad	20	14.3%	61	43.6%	+41	+29.3%
shejak-skad	71	50.7%	104	74.3%	+33	+23.6%
Tibetan	*136	*100%	--	--	--	--
Hindi	77	55%	79	56.4%	+2	+1.4%
English	89	63.6%	82	58.6%	-7	-5%
Chinese	33	23.6%	37	26.4%	+4	+2.8%

*Of valid responses not total responses.

Table 5.9 QS informant responses from the India place of birth category regarding linguistic varieties spoken and understood with comparative differences using all 301 cases

Linguistic variety	Spoken		Understood		Difference	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
dbus-gtsang-skad	166	55.1%	224	74.4%	+58	+19.3%
khams-skad	29	9.6%	96	31.9%	+67	+22.3%
a-mdo-skad	6	2%	60	19.9%	+54	+17.9%
shejak-skad	243	80.7%	254	84.4%	+11	+3.7%
Tibetan	*295	*99%	--	--	--	--
Hindi	261	86.7%	264	87.7%	+3	+1%
English	253	84.1%	251	83.4%	-2	-0.7%
Chinese	16	5.3%	13	4.3%	-3	-1%

*Of valid responses not total responses.

5.3.6 Questionnaire survey informant-reported multiple Tibetic variety intelligibility

This section reports primarily on two questions from QS eliciting informants' views regarding their ability to comprehend Tibetic varieties not in their spoken linguistic repertoires and expand on the previous sections regarding competence. Following the structure of previous sections, the overall results are presented first followed by the results categorised by place of birth. Unless otherwise stated only the four major place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India are reported. Also the procedure differs from the previous section and reverts to the norm in this chapter of only omitting invalid responses from the data analysis processes.

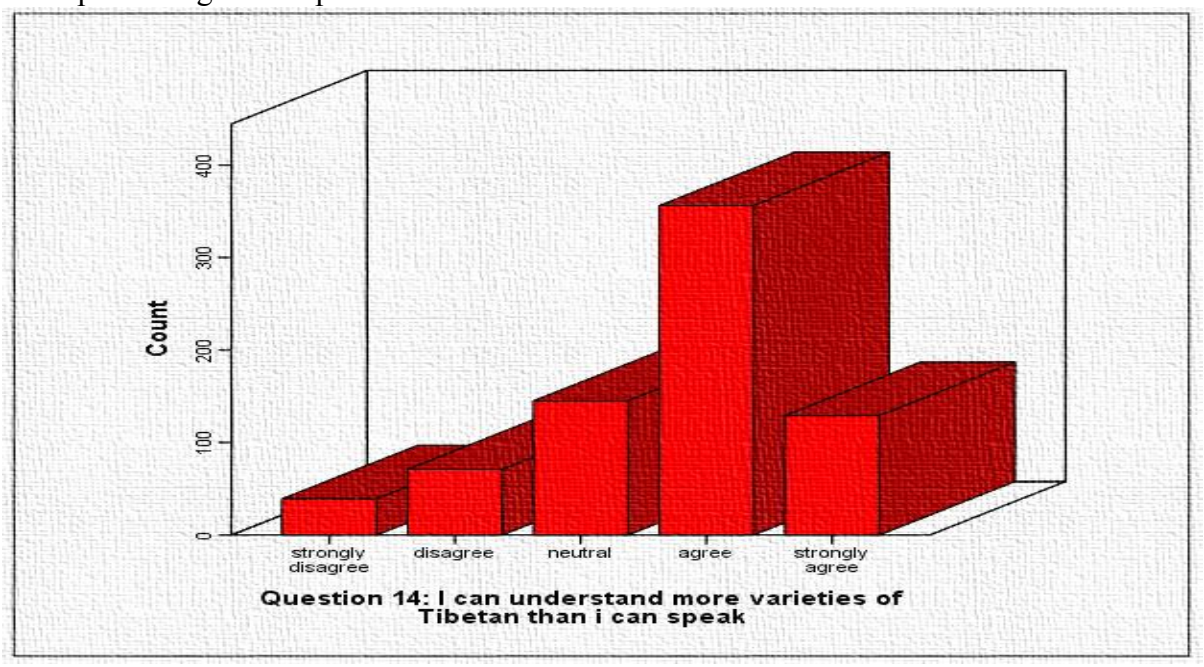
The QS questions 14 and 16 reported on here were designed especially for comparison with each other, and while worded differently, both were incorporated into the questionnaire to elicit informant responses on a particular subject matter allowing for the resultant data to be compared as part of the process of analysis. It should be reiterated here that the data is based

on informant reported responses to questions and therefore the research does not report on actual occurrences of linguistic intelligibility among Tibetic varieties speakers of varying Tibetic repertoires, nor is the emphasis of this research based on needing to prove such claims. The self-reported nature of the data, as well as the informant-led emphasis, reflects the focus on collecting attitudinal responses, and that the motivation for this research was initially based on assessing the effects of TDD members' attitudes on their speech practices and linguistic repertoires. Therefore with this continuation of the theme of intelligibility the purpose is not to prove beyond doubt the actuality of inter-Tibetic variety intelligibility in the TDD but to seek to report on how informants themselves report intelligibility so as to develop an understanding into the role of informants' attitudes in the TDD.

5.3.6.1 Intelligibility among Tibetic variety speakers in a multiple-Tibetic variety model

QS question fourteen required informants to rate on a five-point Likert scale their response to the statement 'I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak' stating whether they 'strongly disagreed', 'disagreed', were 'neutral', 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed'. Figure 5.10 depicts the results for question fourteen. 39 informants (4.9%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 71 (8.9%) disagreed, 145 (18.1%) were neutral, 356 (44.4%) agreed and 129 (16.1%) strongly agreed. While the research sought to collect a degree on complexity in informant's responses in this circumstance it was seen as advantageous to emphasise the general positive and negative responses due to the ambiguity of the question itself. Therefore in total 110 informants (13.8%) expressed a negative sentiment to the statement and 485 informants (60.5%) expressed a positive sentiment to the statement.

Figure 5.10 QS informant responses regarding comprehension of Tibetic varieties not in their own spoken linguistic repertoires



5.3.6.2 Intelligibility in a multiple-Tibetic variety model among Tibetic variety speakers categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 5.11 depicts QS informant responses regarding comprehension of Tibetic varieties not in their own spoken linguistic repertoires, categorised by informants' place of birth in an eyeball judgement form. The responses of each place of birth category were similar to the overall results with some difference regarding the order of the neutral and strongly agreed responses.

All of place of birth category groups reported high and similar levels of agreement;

- Amdo: 45.7%, Kham: 45.9%, Utsang: 46.6%, India: 51.4%

Strong agreement;

- Amdo: 25.9%, Kham: 29.5%, Utsang: 16.8%, India: 8%

Neutral responses;

- Amdo: 16%, Kham: 8.7%, Utsang: 19.1%, India: 26.9%

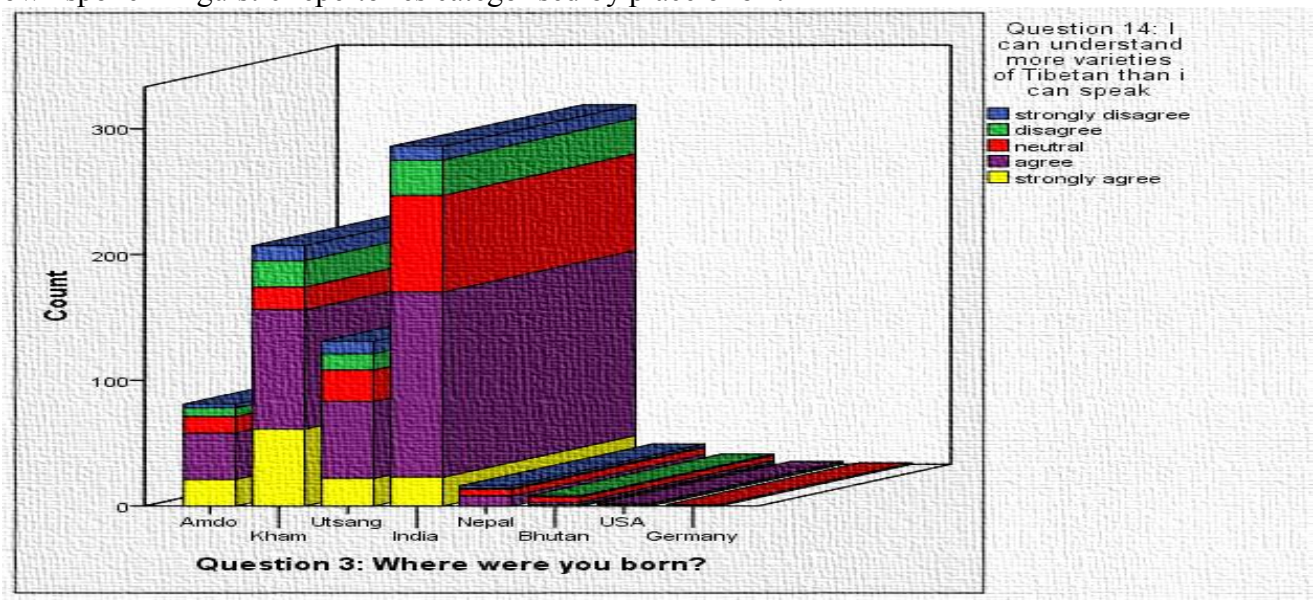
These data indicate the trend of Cholka-sum informants to be more inclined to express strong agreement and India informants to show neutrality. Finally and with substantially smaller number of responses were disagreed;

- Amdo: 8.6%, Kham: 10.1%, Utsang: 9.9%, India: 9.8%

Strongly disagreed;

- Amdo; 3.7%, Kham: 5.8%, Utsang: 7.6%, India: 3.8%

Figure 5.11 QS informant responses regarding comprehension of Tibetic varieties not in their own spoken linguistic repertoires categorised by place of birth



5.3.6.3 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question fourteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 2 tables A2.46 – A2.51). There are statistically significant correlations between QS question

fourteen and the age of informants allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to agree with the statement. There are also statistically significant correlations between QS question fourteen and the number of Tibetic varieties informants spoke and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants speak and comprehend the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question fourteen. Therefore, the statistically significant correlations between age and the increase in the likelihood to agree to the statement in question fourteen suggests further evidence for a polynomic language situation in the TDD specifically concerning the age of informants. The correlations between question fourteen agreement and an increase in the number of Tibetic varieties informants spoke and comprehended suggest further evidence to support the notion that the TDD is a polynomic language situation. However as the results suggest that an increase in Tibetic variety repertoires correlates with reported agreement of understanding Tibetic varieties not in informants' repertoires the multiple-Tibetic circumstances do not provide an example of multiple repertoires decreasing the instances of reported polynomy or polynomy reducing the number of Tibetic varieties informants have in their repertoires.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question fourteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth.

There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Kham and India informants and their responses to QS question fourteen. While the Kham informants are statistically more likely to show agreement with the statement in QS question fourteen India informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement. There are statistically significant correlation between QS question fourteen and the age of informants

in the Amdo and Kham categories allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to agree with the statement. There are also statistically significant correlations between QS question fourteen and the number of Tibetic varieties spoken and the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended by informants from the Amdo and India categories. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties Amdo informants speak and comprehend and the more India informants comprehend the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question fourteen.

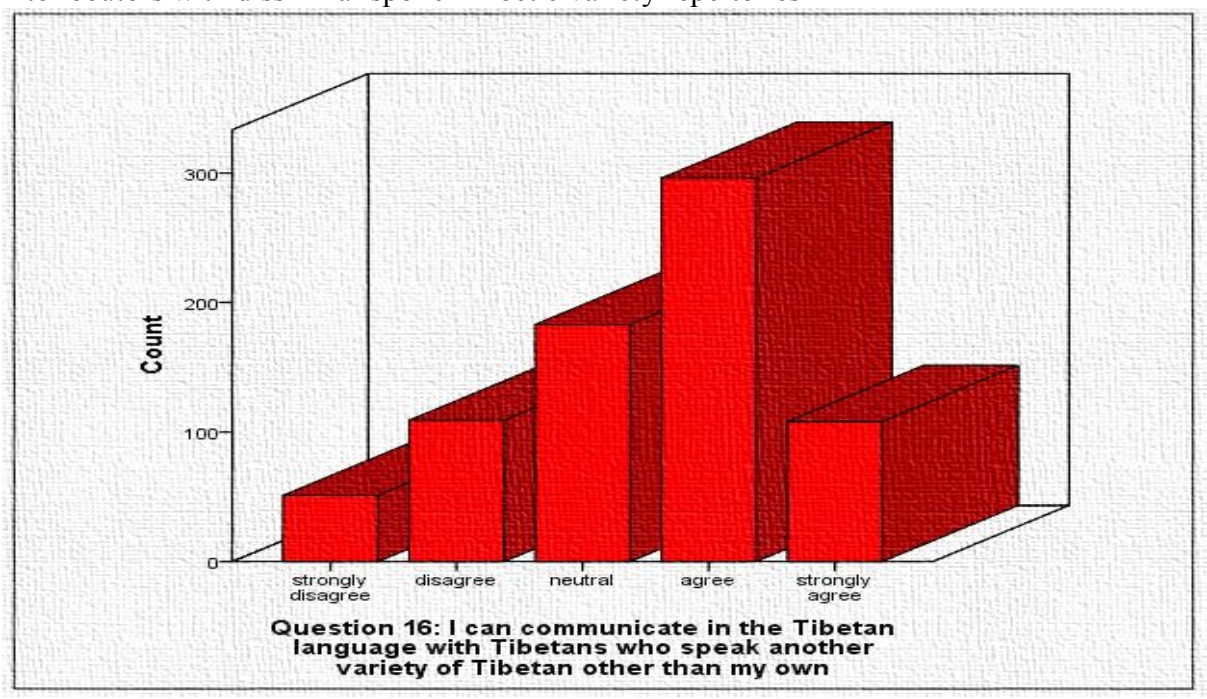
The correlation between the Kham informant variable and agreement to question fourteen and India informant disagreement again suggest a trend regarding the specific degrees of reported polynomy. The India category data conflicts with the previous results in this chapter yet perhaps suggests that India category informants either have little opportunity to interact with other intra-Tibetan groups or incorporate other Tibetic varieties they do not know into the Shejak classification. However as a correlation between India category informant's number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and agreement with question fourteen was also produced in analysis perhaps the former suggestion regarding inter-Tibetan group dynamics is a more substantial suggestion.

5.3.6.4 Tibetic variety intelligibility in conversation results

QS question sixteen required informants to rate on a five point Likert scale their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own'. Informants could state whether they 'strongly disagreed', 'disagreed', were 'neutral', 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed.' Figure 5.12 depicts the results for question sixteen. 51 informants (6.4%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 109 (13.6%) disagreed, 183 (22.8%) were neutral, 296 (37%) agreed and 108 (13.5%) strongly agreed. While the research sought to collect a degree of complexity in

informant's responses in this circumstance it was seen as advantageous to emphasise the general positive and negative responses due to the ambiguity of the question itself. Therefore in total 160 informants (20%) expressed a negative sentiment towards the statement and 404 informants (50.5%) expressed a positive sentiment.

Figure 5.12 QS informant responses regarding the ability in communicate in Tibetan with interlocutors with dissimilar spoken Tibetic variety repertoires



5.3.6.5 Tibetic variety intelligibility in conversation results categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 5.13 depicts QS informant responses regarding the ability to communicate in Tibetan with interlocutors with dissimilar spoken Tibetic variety repertoires, categorised by place of birth in an eyeball judgement form. The responses of each place of birth category were similar to the overall results with some difference regarding the order of size of the neutral and strongly agreed responses. All of place of birth category groups reported high and similar levels of agreement;

- Amdo: 33.7%, Kham: 37.5%, Utsang: 44.4%, India: 40.2%

Strong agreement;

- Amdo: 17.4%, Kham: 22.1%, Utsang: 13.5%, India: 9.4%

Neutral responses;

- Amdo: 29.1%, Kham: 18.8%, Utsang: 21.1%, India: 29%

These data indicate the trend of Cholka-sum informants to be more inclined to express strong agreement and India informants to show neutrality. Finally and with substantially smaller number of responses were disagreed;

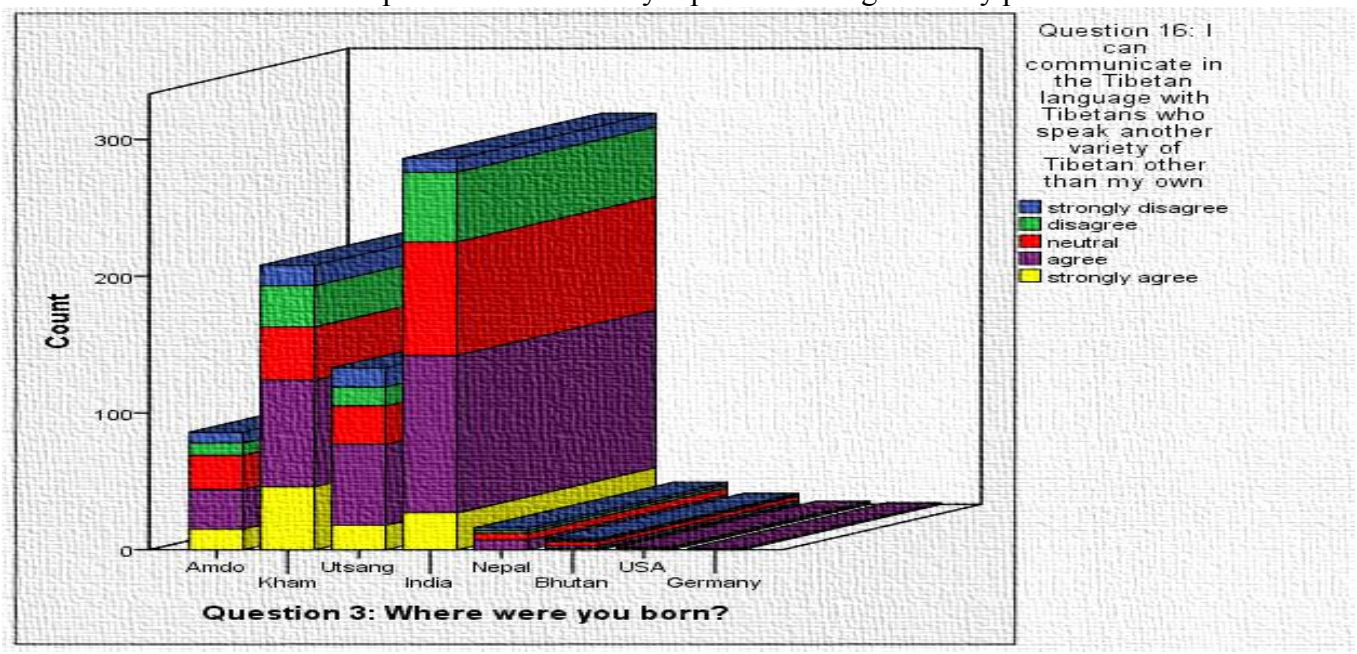
- Amdo: 10.5%, Kham: 14.4%, Utsang: 10.5%, India: 17.8%

Strongly disagreed;

- Amdo; 8.5%, Kham: 7.2%, Utsang: 10.5%, India: 3.5%

The results for question sixteen correspond with those of question fourteen. The questions were designed to cross-reference informant responses. While recognising the fallibility of social science data collection to capture entirety representative data the consistency of the results, relating to these two questions in particular, suggest the validity of the responses.

Figure 5.13 QS informant responses regarding the ability in communicate in Tibetan with interlocutors with dissimilar spoken Tibetic variety repertoires categorised by place of birth



5.3.6.6 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question sixteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 2 tables A2.52 – A2.56).

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question sixteen and the age of informants allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to agree with the statement. There are statistically significant correlations between QS question sixteen and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants comprehend the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question sixteen. Therefore, the statistically significant correlations between age and the increase in the likelihood to agree to the statement in question sixteen suggests further evidence for a polynomic language situation in

the TDD specifically concerning the age of informants. The correlations between question sixteen agreement and an increase in the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend suggest further evidence also to support the notion that the TDD is a polynomic language situation.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question sixteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth.

There is statistical significance between the place of birth category of Kham informants and their responses to QS question sixteen suggesting that Kham informants are statistically more likely to show agreement with the statement in QS question sixteen. There are statistically significant correlations between QS question sixteen and the age of informants in the Kham category allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to agree with the statement. There are also statistically significant correlations between QS question sixteen and the number of Tibetic varieties Kham informants comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties Kham informants comprehend the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question sixteen.

5.4 Polynomic evidence from interview informants

Informants reported having multiple Tibetic repertoires. Comprehension in multiple Tibetic varieties was varied and informants would frequently report initially having multiple Tibetic spoken repertoires while later qualifying that they understood more Tibetic varieties other than their regional variety rather than spoke them. Informants often affirmed that they spoke their own regional Tibetic variety then dbus-gtsang-skad or that they spoke or understood all the Cholka-sum varieties of Tibetan. To specifically validate the polynomic Tibetic variety

concept, there proved to be a significant amount of reporting of mutual intelligibility among Tibetic varieties. Informants reported that they spoke multiple Tibetic varieties and/or had competence without performance abilities in multiple Tibetic varieties, and/or they reported that in the TDD language situation TDD members mixed multiple Tibetic varieties. Many Sanjo Tibetans did not initially report having shejak-skad in their speech repertoires, whether comprehension or performance, yet when specifically asked they often admitted that they did.

It was often reported that when they first arrived in Nepal or India they could not understand the Tibetan spoken by Shejak Tibetans as it was mixed with English and/or Hindi. This was not the only example of evidence for unintelligibility among TDD members. Informants reported not being able to understand other regional Tibetic varieties. A-mdo-skad was reported by Tibetans from Kham, Utsang and India to be very difficult to understand. Also informants would report that within their own regional linguistic category i.e. Amdo, Kham, Utsang and Shejak, there were multiple variants, and that they could not understand any number of these variants.

Informant 9 stated that she could understand khams-skad but not speak it. Informant 50 stated that he understood 50% of the Kham Tibetic variety, 30% of the Amdo Tibetic variety and 90% of the Utsang Tibetic variety. He explained that 'understand is better, speak is so hard. For example in Himalaya like this those speaking the majority I can understand, but I cannot speak'.

Informant 13 believes it is 'not necessary' for Sanjo Tibetans to learn shejak-skad as Shejak Tibetans can understand Sanjo varieties. She believes shejak-skad to be a 'mix of all varieties of [the] Tibetan language'. Later in the interview she says that 'Tibetans with Khampa parents or grandparents mix English and Hindi, and Utsang with khams-skad to make shejak-skad'. Informant 17 talks about the mutual intelligibility among different Tibetic variety

speakers: ‘we can communicate, one of my friends is from Amdo, and when we first met it was quite uneasy for me to understand her’, ‘maybe [after] a month then I understood her’. Informant 17 describes the process of developing comprehension of another Tibetic variety, ‘I don’t know how Tibetan language changes so that they can understand each other, maybe Tibetans from Tibet are trying to change their language because when they met with some people from Tibet they change their dialect, but with us they speak not totally the same, but easy to understand’. I asked her if she thought dbus-gtsang-skad is a lingua franca, to which she replied, ‘yeah, when they speak with us it’s not their own, but when they speak with people from the same city or region they speak differently’. Sanjo informant 28 held an opposing view: ‘do we need to learn the Shejak here right? I don’t think so, we don’t need to learn, cause you know, to be honest what we speak is the original Tibetan right, we came from Tibet, we use our own language’. Conversely, informant 28 did state that she could understand shejak-skad.

5.4.1 Further expressions of comprehension of multiple Tibetic varieties

Sanjo informants reported not being able to comprehend other Tibetans when first entering into exile, but over a relatively short period acquiring competence in shejak-skad. Informant 1 explains, ‘you don’t have to specially learn, you need to know but you meet lots of Shejak and listen so they automatically know about shejak-skad’.

Informant 45 from Kham stated that he did not speak ‘good’ shejak-skad because he used khams-skad and yushu-skad, but that he understood shejak-skad. Conversely he stated that one Shejak Tibetan colleague could not understand him saying that, ‘I need one translator when I talk with ‘X’ la, everyday’. Informant 21 stated that, ‘in general all Tibetan is the same, but when we speak, when we use the words there is a difference’. Informant 31 agreed

stating that the 'difference between shejak-skad and Tibetan in Tibet is pronunciation. Shejak are a little hard to understand sometimes'. Of particular interest was informants 21's opinion regarding the speech of the Dalai Lama, 'when I came to India I saw his holiness was also speaking like Shejak people, 90% of his speech I didn't understand'. This statement indicates a willingness to assign the non-high status variety of Shejak to the repertoire of the individual with the highest status in Tibetan culture.

5.4.2 Identifying terms for linguistic items

Multiple terms were used to describe one or several linguistic items. Often terms for wider linguistic varieties were used to describe varieties within that category or a wider regional label such as the Cholka-sum label was used to describe a more localised variety. For example yushu-skad, a variant of khams-skad, was described as that and khams-skad, or the two terms were used interchangeably. This was standard practice regarding how informants reported linguistic varieties. How informants used the term 'dbus-gtsang-skad' is particularly worth qualifying. Informants used the terms 'lhasa-skad', 'dbus-gtsang-skad', and 'dbus-skad' in an interchangeable manner. Generally the terms dbus-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad equated to a description of the same linguistic variety, with dbus-skad used as the abbreviation. U and Tsang are areas within the regional-cultural term Utsang. While linguistically dbus-skad is used by informants as an abbreviation of the term dbus-gtsang-skad, it is also employed to describe specifically the dbus-skad variant associated with the U area within the Utsang region, yet because of the status assigned to the U region on occasion its usage had cultural implications in that it was used to refer to Tibetic variants in central Tibet that exceeded the U area. Informant 8 stated that, 'Tsang is not U but U is Utsang'. This

depicts the status of U in relation to Tsang in central Tibet. The U area derives its status from its association with previous centralised power, specifically with regards to Lhasa.

Informants would describe Tibetic varieties from Utsang as either dbus-gtsang-skad or dbus-skad in a similar way as mentioned above regarding other wider regional terms. For example maytok-skad, a variant of dbus-gtsang-skad, was reported as dbus-skad or dbsu-gtsang-skad or as interchangeable with maytok-skad. On occasion informants would use lhasa-skad, dbus-skad or dbus-gtsang-skad interchangeably to describe the same linguistic item. Informants would also use the terms dbus-skad, dbus-gtsang-skad or lhasa-skad interchangeably with shejak-skad when describing a higher status variant of shejak-skad or shejak-skad spoken by a TDD member perceived to have high status. This system of classification appeared to be universal in that it did not obviously differentiate between those who spoke dbus-gtsang-skad and those who did not, or those who primarily spoke dbus-gtsang-skad and those who did not.

Typically shejak-skad was not reported as being a variant of dbus-gtsang-skad, it was depicted as a variety of Tibetan which consisted of mostly dbus-gtsang-skad or multiple varieties of dbus-gtsang-skad, particularly varieties originating from central and western regions of Utsang, or a mixture of all Tibetic varieties and English and Hindi. While a number of informants reported identifying a number of Shejak varieties, often associated with a particular Shejak or area of India for example ‘the North East’ or ‘South India’, in Dharamsala informants applied the term shejak-skad to describe all varieties of shejak-skad.

5.5 The effects of the language contact situation in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

'It's all mixed, mixed up with different varieties of the Tibetan language. Some speaking proper, newly arrived proper Tibetan language, and some speaking Tibetan, newly arrived they are speaking Chinese with Tibetan, whatever, which region they belong, and some, what are settled here they are speaking Khampa with Hindi, English and sometimes they use the shejak-skad, and, it's all mixed here is Dharamsala' (informant 33).

Interview informant 17 described the language situation in Dharamsala as follows: 'different kinds of people live in Dasa and they use different kinds of language, but most Tibetans, government staff and all use dbus-gtsang-skad, but those from Tibet are still speaking their own'. Informant 22 stated that he believed the influx of Sanjos in Dharamsala had had linguistic benefits for the Tibetan language: 'here a little bit good in Dasa, here are so many new comers they are using Tibetan language, in south India there's a little problem with the Tibetan accent, they are mixing Tibetan and English and Hindi. Informant 29 also expressed a positive attitude regarding the language situation in the TDD, 'in Tibet because of the Chinese it is difficult to speak Tibetan, but here the situation is good'.

Many informants reported the language situation in Dharamsala in negative terms. Informant 39 stated that, 'we couldn't that much serve the Tibetan language, because, when we meet two friends, two Tibetans, we use the Tibetan language, if we say them in English, all them are English, if we say they are Hindi all are Hindi, if we say Tibetan all are mixed'. 'When they use Shejak language all are mixed Tibetan, Hindi, English with the Tibetan language not that much good, I think it harms the Tibetan language'. Informant 36 described the language situation in Dharamsala as 'terrible' and 'critical' 'because all the languages are just mix up'. She believed that nowadays the Sanjos were also bringing the Chinese language to

Dharamsala. Informant 52 stated that he thought 80% of TDD members wanted to 'speak mixed', which made him feel 'confused' and 'sad' because he believes that it is important to speak pure Tibetan.

Informants 34, 55 and 56 all differentiated between the Tibetan spoken in Tibet by newly arrived Sanjos and Tibetans from an older generation living in exile, and the Tibetan spoken in exile by, among others, Shejaks. Tibetan varieties from Tibet were regarded as purer, more complex and spoken to a higher standard. Shejak Tibetan, especially spoken by members of a younger generation, students or graduates was stigmatised as it was mixed with Hindi and English. Informant 54 stated that he thought the standard of Tibetan in Dharamsala was poor noting that as well as the mixing of Tibetan with English he believed students could not write Tibetan properly and that around Dharamsala he saw many spelling mistakes. Informant 55 also focused on the state of education as having a negative impact on Tibetan. He believed that there are not enough Tibetan universities in India and that the education system in India has not produced, apart from two, any professors, intellectuals or writers of note. He called exiled Tibetan intellectuals 'so-called' and believed that any individuals of prominence in these fields were educated in Tibet.

The positive and negative views informants held regarding the TDD language contact situation suggest the saliency of the diasporic culture of preservation. Typically, informant's views expressed opinions that validated the idea that the Tibetan language was esteemed. The dislocation of the Tibetan language from the 'proper' cultural setting of Tibet was identified as a concern by a number of informants, yet others held conflicting views which depicted the TDD as a cultural asylum.

5.6 Summary of results

The informants reported the TDD as a multiple linguistic situation. Regardless of levels of abilities the research indicates that the majority of informants are multiple language speakers. 80.6% of QS informants reported having multiple language variety repertoires. The most widely held repertoire in the TDD was 'Tibetan, Hindi and English' which was reported by 38.5% of QS informants. In total, 99.6% of QS informants stated that they spoke Tibetan, 59.1% Hindi, 70.3% English, 22.6% Chinese, 4.4% Nepali and 3% Ladakhi.

In total QS informants reported 23 linguistic varieties to be present in the TDD with 34 different variations of linguistic repertoires. The most popular QS linguistic repertoires for Amdo and Kham informants was Tibetan (29.3% and 30% respectively), while for the Utsang and India informants it was Tibetan, Hindi and English (29.4% and 67.4% respectively).

The informants reported the TDD as a multiple Tibetic variety situation with informants identifying that TDD members not only had multiple language variety repertoires, but also multiple Tibetic variety repertoires. In total QS informants reported 22 Tibetic varieties to be present in the TDD with 41 different Tibetic variety repertoires. Regardless of levels of abilities the research indicates that the majority of informants are multiple Tibetic variety speakers. 56.7% of QS informants reported having multiple Tibetic variety repertoires with informants retaining the Tibetic variety associated with their regional identity construct, but the largest Tibetic variety repertoire category with 43.3% of QS informant responses was the single Tibetic variety repertoire.

Informants identified diasporic Tibetic varieties which were labelled as Shejak Tibetan. Both Utsang and Shejak Tibetan were spoken by large numbers of informants from other intra-

Tibetan groups. Results from QS show that 62.4% of Amdo informants, 64.1% Kham and 57% Shejak reported speaking Utsang Tibetan, while 53.8% of Amdo informants, 47.1% Kham and 51.4% of Utsang informants reported speaking shejak-skad. Therefore 74.8% of Utsang speakers and 50.4% of Shejak speakers were informants with non-associated place of birth identity constructs, yet 52.3% of Amdo speakers and 29.1% of Kham speakers were also informants with non-associated place of birth identity constructs. The data suggest informants clearly differentiate between the Utsang and Shejak varieties. While these two Tibetic varieties are reported by informants to function as lingua francas the evidence suggests that there are varieties within these varieties and other Tibetic varieties also being used that have a utility in conjunction to these two Tibetic varieties which suggests a strong unified singular Tibetic variety lingua franca does not exist in either Utsang or Shejak Tibetan. While the utility of these two Tibetic varieties cannot be ignored the research suggests the situation exists where informants use these varieties in tandem with other Tibetic varieties most associated with informants' place of birth construct (90.3% of informants from the Amdo category spoke a-mdo-skad, 89.7% of informants from the Kham category spoke khams-skad, 94.9% of informants from the Utsang category spoke dbus-gtsang-skad and 83.5% of informants from the India category spoke shejak-skad).

QS and interview informants reported higher abilities in Tibetic variety comprehension compared to performance. 60.5% of QS informants reported understanding more Tibetic varieties than they spoke while 50.5% stated that they could communicate in Tibetan with Tibetans who spoke another variety of Tibetan. 66.8% (518) of QS informants stated that they spoke dbus-gtsang-skad, 63.1% (490) shejak-skad, 36.3% (282) khams-skad, and 22.7% (176) a-mdo-skad, while 85.1% (656) stated that they understood dbus-gtsang-skad, 80.3% (619) shejak-skad, 56.8% (438) khams-skad, 43.2% (333) a-mdo-skad.

QS informants reported a mean average of 2.6252 for spoken linguistic varieties and 1.9253 for spoken Tibetic varieties, while reporting a mean average of comprehending 2.6329 linguistic varieties and 2.7156 Tibetic varieties. Therefore the mean difference between reported spoken ability in the four Tibetic varieties and competence in those four varieties is 18.4% while the mean for the three non-Tibetic varieties is 0.5%. Therefore the results indicate that the TDD is a polynomic Tibetic variety situation.

If the mean data for the number of linguistic and Tibetic repertoires is categorised using the place of birth classification the results suggest that polynomy is present in all categories.

QS Amdo informants report:

- A mean linguistic variety repertoire of 2.2717 and a comprehension ability of 2.3111.
- A mean Tibetic variety repertoire of 2.2796 and a comprehension ability of 3.0667.

QS Kham informants report:

- A mean linguistic variety repertoire of 2.3273 and a comprehension ability of 2.3744.
- A mean Tibetic variety repertoire of 2.3184 and a comprehension ability of 3.2018.

QS Utsang informants report:

- A mean linguistic variety repertoire of 2.5294 and a comprehension ability of 2.5735.
- A mean Tibetic variety repertoire of 1.8986 and a comprehension ability of 2.7279.

QS India informants report:

- A mean linguistic variety repertoire of 2.9094 and a comprehension ability of 2.8703.
- A mean Tibetic variety repertoire of 1.5498 and a comprehension ability of 2.2580.

Therefore the means of the 3 non-Tibetic varieties regarding the percentage difference between performance and comprehension were as follows; there was a -1.8% mean for the Amdo category, a 2.8% mean for the Kham category, a -0.3% mean for the Utsang category and a -0.2% mean for the India category, while the percentage difference between performance and comprehension for the Tibetic varieties omitting the data from the one most associated with the relative category of place of birth were as follows; there was a 21.6% mean for the Amdo category, a 26.2% mean for the Kham category, a 26.2% for the Utsang category and 19.8% for the India category.

With regards to the QS questions designed to elicit further data on Tibetic variety comprehension 60.5% of informants reported being able to understand more Tibetic varieties than they could speak (71.6% of Amdo informants, 75.4% Kham, 63.4% Utsang, 59.4% India). Statistical correlation analysis suggests that QS Kham informants are more inclined to state that they understand more Tibetic varieties than they can speak while India informants are more inclined to indicate that they do not.

In addition, 50.5% of QS informants reported being able to communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than their own (51.1% of Amdo informants, 59.6% Kham, 57.9% Utsang, 49.6% India). Statistical correlation analysis suggests that QS Kham informants are more inclined to state that they are able to communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than their own.

Interview informants' reports confirmed the questionnaire data regarding how informants report intelligibility abilities of Tibetic varieties in the TDD, often expressing the view that it was problematic to only speak one Tibetic variety. Statistical correlation analysis of QS data suggest that Amdo and Kham informants are inclined to state higher comprehension abilities

regarding the numbers of Tibetic varieties compared to other place of birth category informants. In addition, statistical correlation analysis of QS data suggest that Amdo and Kham informants are also more inclined to state having larger Tibetic variety repertoires than other place of birth groups. Conversely, India category informants are statistically less likely to report having larger Tibetic variety repertoires.

5.7 Chapter summary

This chapter presents data from the QS and interviews regarding informants' linguistic repertoires and speech practices seeking to develop an understanding not just on the reported Tibetic variety competence and performance of TDD members, but also other linguistic varieties such as English, Chinese and Hindi present in the TDD. 23 linguistic varieties and 22 Tibetic varieties were reported by informants to be present in the TDD with informants reporting 34 different variations of language repertoires and 41 different Tibetic variety repertoires. Tibetan was spoken comprehensively, while English and Hindi, and to a lesser extent Chinese, were also reported by significant numbers of informants. Figures for the comprehension of these linguistic varieties were similar to the figures for performance. However the results for Tibetic variety performance and comprehension suggest polynomy in the TDD.

Informants differentiated between Tibetan spoken in the diaspora, mostly by Shejak Tibetans and varieties of Tibetan originating from Tibet. This variety was called shejak-skad, yet the majority of QS informants reported speaking dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad followed by khams-skad and a-mdo-skad. 56.7% of QS informants report having multiple Tibetic variety repertoires, but the largest Tibetic variety repertoire category was the single Tibetic variety repertoire with 43.3% of informants.

Chapter Six: The Language Attitudes of the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

This chapter uses the data from all three data collection techniques. Section 6.1 describes the results of the VGT. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 report on QS and interview informants' attitudes specifically regarding Tibetic varieties and issues of purity and utility. Finally 6.4 and 6.5 report on the status of the multiple Tibetic variety model. An understanding of the concepts of the multiple Tibetic variety situation and the Tibetic polynomic situation in the TDD are developed throughout this chapter in the initial sections by reporting on how informants identified the particularities of the four varieties (a-mdo-skad, khams-skad, dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad) followed by an emphasis on the Utsang and Shejak varieties specifically regarding the issues of purity and utility, then finally the informants' attitudes to the multiple Tibetic model in its entirety.

Continuing the structural themes of this chapter the salient aspects of the results of the overall data will initially be presented in most sections followed by the data sets categorised according to place of birth. Correlation tests have also been conducted where appropriate and the statistically significant correlations presented.

6.1 Verbal-guise test informants assigning characteristics to the four major place of birth Tibetic variety speakers

The results in this section have been structured by grouping the 15 traits into five sub-sections. The "intelligent", "sharp-minded" and "educated" traits form the first section, "trustworthy" and "honest" the second, "polite", "respectful", "rude" the third,

"hardworking", "successful" and "wealthy" the fourth, and finally "likeable", "friendly", "kind" and "helpful" the fifth section. These traits were grouped together based on their similarities in an attempt to display the data in a more presentable way.

Initially the results are presented in the mean average responses of informants to the four speakers in both audio 1 and 2. Following this the data is then presented in a similar manner yet structured by the place of birth categorisation. As noted in chapter three compiling the responses in mean average data allowed for a simple presentation of the responses relative to the other ratings of the alternate speakers in conjunction with how alternate place of birth category informants responded. The decision was made during the conception stage of the VGT to use 2 audio sections so as to compensate for meta issues of initial informant reaction to an unusual judgement task to anticipating a default reaction in audio 2 when informants may possibly be cognisant of a particular theme and react to a certain general, perhaps superficial, label. It is also worth stating at this point that while the fifteen traits have been placed in sub-groups and particularly the correlations of the traits are presented in close proximity to each other, the decision to sub-divide the traits was primarily motivated by presentation techniques and not an over-association between the traits of a particular group. Nonetheless there are similarities between "intelligent" and "sharp-minded" for example, but it must be established that each trait is separate.

It was central to the focus of the study to investigate the language attitudes of TDD members on the Tibetic variety related with their regional association in conjunction with the other major regional varieties. The emphasis of the analytical processes therefore focused on the statistically significant correlations of the place of birth variables and the traits. Developing an understanding of the relationships of the variables using correlation analysis was considered particularly appropriate in these circumstances not only in avoiding over simplistic claims of causation in complex socio-cultural circumstances but also as this

research is identified as a first tentative enquiry into language attitudes in the TDD. Tables and analysis of the statistically significant correlations follow the presentation of the results in mean average form for each of the five sections. Due to the coding of the trait rating data negative correlations in the tables actually signify positive correlations between variables. Therefore a subsequent example being a statistically significant correlation between low trait ratings and a place of birth variable is derived from positive correlation coefficients and high trait ratings from negative correlation coefficients.

The five independent variables categorising the informants into the place of birth classifications of Amdo, Kham, Utsang, India and Bhutan were correlated with the informant responses regarding the 15 character traits from the two audio recordings, creating a possible 600 statistically significant correlation scenarios. Of those, 188 actual correlations were produced by the analysis.

With regards to the place of birth presentation of the results, it is worth noting that while the Bhutan informants have been included in the overall results they have not been cited in the place of birth category results as there were only 2 informants.

6.1.1 The status and stigmatisation of cognition

The three traits of “intelligent”, “sharp-minded” and “educated” were grouped together to represent how informants rated the 4 speakers of the Tibetic varieties associated with the regional identity constructs of Amdo, Kham, Shejak and Utsang with regards to their attitudes towards the traits associated with “cognition”.

6.1.1.1 Mean average results for cognition traits

Informants labelled the Amdo (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 2) voices as "the most intelligent". The Utsang voice was "the most sharp-minded" and "educated" in audio 1, while the Kham voice was "the most sharp-minded" and Shejak voice "the most educated" in audio 2. Overall the Utsang voice was perceived as having the most status regarding cognition traits, yet the three other voices shared the accolade of receiving the status of the highest mean ranking by the informants in at least one category. Conversely the Kham voice was rated "the least intelligent" and "educated" and the Shejak voice was "the least sharp-minded" in both audio 1 and 2. Therefore in terms of the ranking of means the contradictory nature of Tibetic varieties receiving both labels of status and stigmatisation can be seen in the results of the Kham and Shejak voices.

6.1.1.2 Mean average results for cognition traits categorised by informant place of birth classification

Of the 24 highest rated rank positions available 14 were the voice associated with informants own place of birth category. In contrast, Amdo informants rated the Kham and Shejak voices the highest regarding the "intelligent" trait in both audio 1 and 2. Amdo informants also rated the Kham voice the highest regarding the "sharp-minded" trait in audio 2 and "educated" trait in audio 1. Amdo informants also rated the Shejak voice the highest regarding the "educated" trait in both audio 1 and 2. Utsang informants rated the Amdo voice the highest in audio 1 regarding the "educated" trait, and finally the Utsang and Kham informants rated the Utsang voice in audio 2 equally the highest regarding the "intelligent" trait. Therefore 58.3% of the responses for the cognition status traits were assigned to the voice associated with the

informants' place of birth identity construct (62.5% if the Utsang intelligent trait in audio 2 is included).

In comparison, no place of birth category group rated the associated voice the lowest. 54.2% of the responses were India category informants rating the Cholka-sum voices the lowest in each scenario. India informants rated the Amdo (audio 2), Kham (audio 1 and 2) and Utsang (audio 1 and 2) voices the lowest regarding the "intelligent" trait, the Amdo (audio 1), Kham (audio 1 and 2) and the Utsang (audio1) the lowest regarding the "sharp-minded" trait, and the Amdo (audio 1), and Kham (audio 2) and Utsang (audio 1 and 2) the lowest regarding the "educated" trait.

Kham informants rated the Amdo voice the lowest regarding "intelligence" in audio 1, while Utsang informants rating the Amdo voice, and Kham informants rated the Utsang voice the lowest regarding "sharp-mindedness" in audio 2. Utsang informants also rated the Kham (audio 1) and Amdo (audio 2) voices "the least educated". The remaining 25% of responses were Cholka-sum category informants rating the Shejak voice the lowest. Amdo category informants ranked the Shejak voice the lowest regarding the "sharp-minded" trait in audio 1, while the remaining instances were Utsang informants ranking the Shejak voice the lowest ("intelligent" audio 1 and 2, "sharp-minded" audio 2 and "educated" audio 1 and 2).

6.1.1.3 Correlation analysis of the status and stigmatisation of cognition categorised by informant place of birth classification

A number of statistically significant correlations existed between the place of birth category variable and the cognition traits. Table 6.1 depicts the summaries of the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to

the voice associated with that category.[46] Tables 6.2 – 6.9 depict the correlation coefficient data used to compile the summaries. There are statistically significant correlations between all four categories and high rates of the "sharp-minded" trait and the "intelligent" trait apart from the Kham voice. There were not only the most correlations between Amdo category informants and high ratings of cognition traits but also the only instance of correlation between a place of birth category and the associated voice regarding high ratings for the "educated" trait.

Table 6.1 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the cognition traits assigned to the associated place of birth voice

Traits	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Intelligent	High in A1&A2	-	High in A1	High in A1
Sharp minded	High in A1&A2	High in A1	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2
Educated	High in A2	-	-	-

Table 6.2 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the intelligent trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and intelligent trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	-.174*	.030
Amdo speaker audio 2 and intelligent trait	156	-.310**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.3 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the intelligent trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and intelligent trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	-.357**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

[46] A1 refers to audio one and A2 refers to audio two. The same abbreviations are used in the tables throughout this chapter.

Table 6.4 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the intelligent trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and intelligent trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	-.163*	.042

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.5 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	-.206**	.010
Amdo speaker audio 2 and sharp minded trait	156	-.212**	.008

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.6 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	-.321**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.7 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	-.196*	.014
Utsang speaker audio 2 and sharp minded trait	156	-.243**	.002

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.8 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	-.319**	.000
Shejak speaker audio 2 and sharp minded trait	156	-.184*	.021

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.9 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the educated trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and educated trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 2 and educated trait	156	-.305**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tables 6.10 – 6.13 depict the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the three voices associated place of birth categories other than their own. Statistically significant correlations between the India informants and low ratings of the Cholka-sum voices regarding the cognition traits suggest those informants stigmatise these speakers. While there were two cases of correlations between Cholka-sum informants (Kham and Amdo informants) and low rates regarding cognition traits of other Cholka-sum speakers there were 9 different statistically significant correlations between India informants and low rates of Cholka-sum speakers. Conversely, there were statistically significant correlations between Amdo and Kham informants and low ratings of the Shejak voice regarding the "sharp-minded" trait, and the Utsang informants' rating of the Shejak voice regarding the educated trait to suggest that Cholka-sum informants stigmatised the Shejak voice to a degree.

However, there were statistically significant correlations between Kham and Amdo informants and high ratings of voices which were not associated with their own place of birth construct. There were correlations between the Kham informants and high ratings of the Amdo voice regarding the "sharp-minded" trait, Amdo informants and high ratings of the Utsang voice regarding the "educated" trait, and Kham and Amdo informants and high ratings of the Shejak voice regarding the "educated" trait. Therefore while there is a trend to assign status to the voice associated with the place of birth identity construct of the informant and a trend to assign stigma to other voices, there was also a conflicting trend to assign status

to voices that did not match the place of birth association. This included Cholka-sum category informants assigning status to the Shejak voice.

Table 6.10 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the cognition traits assigned to the Amdo voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Intelligent	Low in A1	-	Low in A2
Sharp minded	High in A1	-	Low in A2
Educated	-	-	-

Table 6.11 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the cognition traits assigned to the Kham voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Utsang	Shejak
Intelligent	-	-	Low in A1
Sharp minded	-	-	Low in A1&A2
Educated	-	-	Low in A1

Table 6.12 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the cognition traits assigned to the Utsang voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Shejak
Intelligent	-	-	Low in A1&A2
Sharp minded	-	-	Low in A1
Educated	High in A1&A2	-	-

Table 6.13 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the cognition traits assigned to the Shejak voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Utsang
Intelligent	-	-	-
Sharp minded	Low in A1	Low in A1	-
Educated	High in A1&A2	High in A2	Low in A2

6.1.2 The status and stigmatisation of trust

The two traits of "trustworthy" and "honest" were grouped together to form the second trait group "trust".

6.1.2.1 Mean average results for trust traits

Informants labelled the Kham (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 2) "the most trustworthy" voices, while the Kham voice was rated "the most honest" in both audio 1 and 2. Conversely the Shejak voice was rated "the least trustworthy" and "the least honest" in both audio 1 and 2. These figures challenge the notion of contradictory and multiple labels of both stigma and status for Tibetic varieties as the Shejak variety was so comprehensively stigmatised regarding these two traits.

6.1.2.2 Mean average results for trust traits categorised by informant place of birth classification

Out of the 16 highest rated rank positions 13 were informants rating the voice associated with their place of birth category the highest. Therefore 81.3% of the responses regarding trust were assigned to the voice associated with the informants' place of birth identity construct. In contrast, Amdo informants rated the Kham and Utsang voices the highest regarding the "trustworthy" trait in audio 2. Amdo informants also rated the Utsang voice the highest regarding the "honest" trait in audio 2.

In comparison, no place of birth category rated the voice associated with it the lowest. In 80% of the responses, India informants rated the Cholka-sum voices the lowest in each scenario.

India informants rated the Amdo (audio 1 and 2), Kham (audio 2) and the Utsang (audio 2) voices lowest regarding the "trustworthy" trait, and the Amdo (audio 1 and 2) and Kham (audio 1 and 2) voices the lowest regarding the "honest" traits.

Regarding the theme of language attitude differences between Utsang and India informants, Utsang informants rated the Shejak voice in audio 1 and 2 the lowest regarding the "trustworthy" trait, and the lowest in audio 1 regarding the "honest" trait suggesting that despite more linguistic and possibly cultural similarities between the Utsang and Shejak informants relative to the other two groups there is a clear dichotomy.

6.1.2.3 Correlation analysis of the status and stigmatisation of trust categorised by informant place of birth classification

A number of statistically significant correlations existed between the place of birth category variable and the trust traits. Table 6.14 depicts the summaries of the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the voice associated with that category. Tables 6.15 – 6.22 depict the correlation coefficient data used to compile the summaries. There were statistically significant correlations between high ratings of a voice associated with the place of birth of the informant. All groups assigned statistically significant high rating in both audio 1 and 2 to the voice associated with their place of birth construct regarding the "trustworthy" and "honest" traits, apart from Utsang which just assigned statistically significant high rating scores for audio 1. Therefore, the results suggest that each place of birth category assigned trust status to the voice associated with that identity construct.

Table 6.14 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the trust traits assigned to the associated place of birth voice

Traits	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Trustworthy	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2	High in A1	High in A1&A2
Honest	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2	High in A1	High in A1&A2

Table 6.15 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	-.316**	.000
Amdo speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.402**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 6.16 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	-.384**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.207**	.010

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.17 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	-.400**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.18 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	-.369**	.000
Shejak speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.191*	.017

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.19 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	-.293**	.000
Amdo speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	-.308**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.20 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	-.171*	.033
Kham speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	-.243**	.002

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.21 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	-.246*	.002

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.22 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	-.304**	.000
Shejak speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	-.170*	.033

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tables 6.23 – 6.26 depict the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the three voices associated place of birth categories other than their own. Statistically significant correlations between high rating by Cholka-sum group informants and Cholka-sum voices suggest trust status being assigned by informants with the non-place of birth association. There were correlations between Kham informants

and rating the Amdo voice statistically significantly high regarding the "trustworthy" and "honest" trait in audio 1, and the Utsang voice regarding the "trustworthy" trait in audio 2. There were also correlations between Amdo informants and high ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "trustworthy" trait in audio 1, and the Utsang voice regarding the "trustworthy" (audio 1) and "honest" (audio 2) traits. Conversely, while the data suggest that Amdo and Kham informants assign trust status to Cholka-sum varieties, there were statistically significant correlations between low ratings by Utsang informants for the Amdo voice regarding the "trustworthy" and "honest" traits in audio 1 and the Kham voice regarding the "trustworthy" trait in audio 2, and also Kham informants regarding low ratings for the Utsang voice in relation to the "trustworthy" and "honest" traits in audio 1.

There were statistically significant correlations between low ratings and Utsang (audio 1 and 2) and Kham (audio 1) regarding the "trustworthy" trait, and the Utsang informants and the "honest" trait (audio 1). Therefore, while Cholka-sum informants assign degrees of status and stigmatisation to the Cholka-sum voices, they only stigmatise the Shejak voice. In turn there were statistically significant correlations between India informants and low ratings of all of the Cholka-sum voices regarding the trust traits, which suggest these informants stigmatise these speakers as well.

Therefore, while there is a trend to assign status to the voice associated with the place of birth identity construct of the informant, Amdo and Kham informants especially assigned trust status to other non-place of birth Cholka-sum varieties, yet stigmatised the Shejak voice. India informants also only assigned trust stigmatisation to the Cholka-sum voices.

Table 6.23 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the trust traits assigned to the Amdo voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Trustworthy	High in A1	Low in A1	Low in A1
Honest	High in A1	Low in A1	Low in A1&A2

Table 6.24 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the trust traits assigned to the Kham voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Utsang	Shejak
Trustworthy	High in A1	Low in A2	Low in A1
Honest	-	-	Low in A1&A2

Table 6.25 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the trust traits assigned to the Utsang voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Shejak
Trustworthy	High in A1	Low in A1& High in A2	Low in A2
Honest	High in A2	Low in A1	-

Table 6.26 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the trust traits assigned to the Shejak voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Utsang
Trustworthy	-	Low in A1	Low in A1&A2
Honest	-	-	Low in A1

6.1.3 The status and stigmatisation of manners

The three traits of "polite", "respectful" and "rude" were grouped together to form the third trait group "manners".

6.1.3.1 Mean average results for manners traits

Informants labelled Utsang "the politest" and "the least rude" voice in audio 1 and 2, while the Kham (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 2) voices were rated "the most respectful". Conversely the Shejak (audio 1) and Amdo (audio 2) voices were rated "the least polite", while the Shejak (audio 1) and Kham (audio 2) voices were rated "the rudest". The Shejak voice was also rated "the least respectful" voice in both audio 1 and 2. These results indicate two aspects in particular. Firstly, the Kham voice is assigned rank positions which suggest conflicting labels of stigma and status, and secondly the overt difference indicated by informants regarding the Utsang voice and the Shejak voice ratings, which suggest informants stigmatise the Shejak voice, provide further evidence to differentiate attitudes towards these two Tibetic varieties.

6.1.3.2 Mean average results for manners traits categorised by informant place of birth classification

Informants labelled Utsang as "the most polite" in both audio 1 and 2. Kham was seen as "the most respectful" in audio 1 and Utsang in audio 2. Shejak was labelled "the rudest" in audio 1 and Kham in audio 2. Informants labelled the Utsang voice "the least rude" in both audio 1 and 2, and the Shejak voice "the least polite" in audio 1 and the Amdo voice in audio 2. The Shejak voice was also seen as "the least respectful" in audio 1 and 2. Therefore, in terms of the mean results, the data suggest Utsang to be the variety most associated with the status of manners, and Shejak the most stigmatised regarding manners.

Out of the 24 highest rated scenarios, 14 were informants rating the voice associated with their place of birth category the highest if the "rude" trait results are inverted to count "the least rude", therefore fulfilling the positive trend associated with the other highest trait ratings.

Thus 58.3% of the responses for the manners status traits were assigned to the voice associated with the informants' place of birth identity construct. However, to this scenario Amdo informants rated the Kham (audio 1 and 2), Utsang (audio 2) and Shejak (audio 2) voices the highest regarding the "polite" trait. Amdo informants also rated the Kham (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 1 and 2) voices the highest regarding the "respectful" trait, and India informants rated Kham (audio 2) "the least rude". Utsang informants rated the Shejak voice (audio 2) and Kham informants rated the Utsang voice (audio 2) "the least rude".

In comparison, only Kham informants gave a rating that suggested a stigmatisation of the voice associated with their own identity construct (audio 2 Kham informants rated the Kham voice "the rudest").

41.7% of the India informants rated the Cholka-sum voices the lowest in each scenario or high in the "rude" rating scenario. India informants rated the Amdo (audio 1 and 2), Kham (audio 2) and the Utsang (audio 1 and 2) voices the lowest regarding the "polite" trait, the Amdo (audio 2), Kham (audio 2) and the Utsang (audio 1 and 2) voices the lowest regarding the "respectful" trait, and rated the Utsang (audio 1) voice the highest regarding the "rude" trait.

6.1.3.3 Correlation analysis of the status and stigmatisation of manners categorised by informant place of birth classification

Table 6.27 depicts the summaries of the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the voice associated with that category. Tables 6.28 – 6.36 depict the correlation coefficient data used to compile the summaries. There were statistically significant correlations between high ratings of a voice associated

with the place of birth of the informant. All groups assigned statistically significant high rating to the voice associated with their place of birth construct regarding the manners traits. There were statistically significant correlations between Amdo informants and high ratings of the Amdo voice ("polite" audio 1, "respectful" audio 1 and 2), Kham informants and the Kham voice ("respectful" audio 1), Utsang and the Utsang voice ("polite" audio 1), and India and the Shejak voice ("polite" audio 1 and 2, "respect" audio 1). There were statistically significant correlations between Amdo (audio 1 and 2), Utsang (audio 1) and India (audio 2) informants and a low rating of the voice associated with the place of birth construct and the "rude" trait. Therefore, the results suggest that informants from each place of birth category assigned manners status to the voice associated with that identity construct.

Table 6.27 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the manners traits assigned to the associated place of birth voice

Traits	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Polite	High in A1	-	High in A1	High in A1&A2
Respectful	High in A1&A2	High in A1	-	High in A1
Rude	Low in A1&A2	-	Low in A1	Low in A2

Table 6.28 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	-.302**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.29 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	-.170*	.033

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.30 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	-.386**	.000
Shejak speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	-.175*	.029

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 6.31 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	-.210**	.008
Amdo speaker audio 2 and respectful trait	156	-.357**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.32 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	-.194*	.015

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.33 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	-.399**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.34 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and rude trait	156	.237**	.003
Amdo speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	.318**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.35 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and rude trait	156	.346**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.36 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	.164*	.041

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tables 6.37 – 6.40 depict the statistically significant correlations which informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the three voices associated with place of birth categories other than their own. There were a number of statistically significant correlations to suggest that informants assigned manner status to voices not associated with their own place of birth categorisation, yet conversely the results show that informants also assigned a degree of stigma too. There were statistically significant correlations between Amdo informants and high ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "polite" (audio 2) and "respectful" (audio 1) traits, yet also high ratings of the "rude" (audio 2) trait as well. In a similar pattern there were correlations between India informants and low ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "polite" (audio 2) and "rude" (audio 2) traits.

There were similar circumstances of conflicting assignments of status and stigma to the Utsang voice. There were correlations between Amdo informants and high rates of the Utsang voice regarding the "polite" (audio 2) and "respectful" (audio 1 and 2) traits suggesting the assignment of status regarding manners and also high ratings of the "rude" (audio 1) suggesting stigma.

There were correlations between Kham informants and low ratings of the Utsang voice regarding the "rude" (audio 2) trait, yet conversely there were correlations between India informants and high ratings of the Utsang voice regarding the "rude" (audio 2) trait and low ratings of the "polite" (audio 1 and 2) and "respectful" (audio 1) traits.

There were correlations with the final Cholka-sum voice of Amdo and ratings that assigned stigma to that voice. India informant variables correlated with a low rating of the Amdo voice regarding the "respectful" (audio 2) trait, while Utsang informant variables correlated with a high rating of the Amdo voice regarding the "rude" (audio 1 and 2) trait.

Of the nine statistically significant correlations between informant place of birth variables and the rating of traits, there were only two examples to suggest the assignment of the manner status to the Shejak voice. Amdo informant variables correlated with a high rating of the Shejak voice regarding the "polite" (audio 2) trait, yet conversely there were also correlations between the Amdo informant variable and a high rating of the Shejak voice regarding the "rude" (audio 1) trait. Utsang informant variables correlated with a low rating of the Shejak voice regarding the "rude" (audio 2) trait, yet again conversely there were also correlations between the Utsang informant variable and a low rating of the Shejak voice regarding the "polite" (audio 1 and 2) and "respectful" (audio 1) traits. No conflicting assignment labels existed regarding the Shejak voice trait ratings and the Kham informant variable. There were correlations between the Kham informant variable and a low rating of the Shejak voice regarding the "polite" (audio 1) and "respectful" (audio 1) traits and a high rating for the Shejak voice regarding the "rude" (audio 1) trait.

Table 6.37 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the manners traits assigned to the Amdo voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Polite	-	-	-
Respectful	-	-	Low in A2
Rude	-	High in A1&A2	-

Table 6.38 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the manners traits assigned to the Kham voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Utsang	Shejak
Polite	High in A2	-	Low in A2
Respectful	High in A1	-	-
Rude	High in A2	-	Low in A2

Table 6.39 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the manners traits assigned to the Utsang voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Shejak
Polite	High in A2	-	Low in A1&A2
Respectful	High in A1&A2	-	Low in A1
Rude	High in A2	Low in A2	High in A1

Table 6.40 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the manners traits assigned to the Shejak voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Utsang
Polite	High in A2	Low in A2	Low in A1&A2
Respectful	-	Low in A1	Low in A1
Rude	High in A1	High in A2	Low in A2

6.1.4 The status and stigmatisation of attainment

The three traits of “hardworking”, “successful” and “wealthy” were grouped together to form the fourth trait group “attainment”.

6.1.4.1 Mean average results for attainment traits

Informants labelled the Kham (audio 1) and Amdo (audio 2) as the hardest working voices. The Shejak voice was rated "the most successful" and "the wealthiest" in both audio 1 and audio 2. Conversely the Shejak (audio 1) and Kham (audio 2) voices were rated "the least hardworking", while the Kham (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 2) voices were rated "the least successful" and the Amdo (audio 1) and Kham (audio 2) voices were "the least wealthy". Therefore in terms of the ranking of means, the contradictory nature of Tibetic varieties receiving both labels of status and stigmatisation can be seen in the results for the Amdo and Kham voices. The data suggest these two voices have a substantial association to the "hardworking" trait, yet it was the Shejak voice that dominated the highest ranking positions for the "successful" and "wealthy" traits.

6.1.4.2 Mean average results for attainment traits categorised by informant place of birth classification

Out of the 24 highest rated scenarios, nine were informants rating the voice associated with their place of birth category the highest. Therefore 37.5% of the responses for the attainment status traits were assigned to the voice associated with the informants' place of birth identity construct. This is considerably lower than the other status assignment scenarios regarding how informants rate the voice associated with their place of birth construct.

In contrast, Utsang informants rated the Amdo (audio 1) the highest, and Amdo informants rated the Kham (audio 1 and 2), Shejak (audio 2) and Utsang (audio 2) voices the highest regarding the "hardworking" trait. India informants rated the Amdo (audio 1) the highest, and Amdo informants rated the Kham (audio 1 and 2), Shejak (audio 1), and Utsang (audio 1)

voices the highest regarding the "successful" trait. India and Kham informants rated Amdo voice the highest (audio 1 and audio 2 respectively), and Amdo informants rated the Kham (audio 1), Shejak (audio 1) and Utsang (audio 2) voices the highest regarding the "wealthy" trait.

In comparison, only Amdo informants gave a rating that suggested a stigmatisation of the voice associated with that identity construct (Amdo informants rated the Amdo voice "the least hardworking" (audio 1) and "the least wealthy" (audio 1)).

6.1.4.3 Correlation analysis of the status and stigmatisation of attainment

There were statistically significant correlations between high ratings of a voice associated with the place of birth of the informant. Table 6.41 depicts the summaries of the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the voice associated with that category. Tables 6.42 – 6.49 depict the correlation coefficient data used to compile the summaries. There were statistically significant correlations between Amdo (audio 1 for "hardworking" and audio 1 and 2 for "successful") and Utsang (audio 1 and 2 for "hardworking" and audio 2 for "successful") informants and high ratings of the voice associated with their own place of birth construct regarding the "hardworking" and "successful" traits. India informants responded similarly to the Amdo and Utsang informants yet there was also a correlation between India informants and high ratings of the Shejak voice regarding the "wealthy" (audio 1 and 2) trait as well the "hardworking" (audio 2) and "successful" (audio 1 and 2) traits.

Table 6.41 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the attainment traits assigned to the associated place of birth voice

Traits	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Hardworking	High in A1	-	High in A1&A2	High in A2
Successful	High in A2	-	High in A2	High in A1&A2
Wealthy	-	High in A2	-	High in A1&A2

Table 6.42 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	-.341**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.43 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	-.233**	.005
Utsang speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	-.205*	.010

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.44 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	-.320**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.45 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	-.174*	.030

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.46 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	-.238**	.003

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.47 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and successful trait	156	-.171*	.033
Shejak speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	-.160*	.046

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.48 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the wealthy trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and wealthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 2 and wealthy trait	156	-.297**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.49 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the wealthy trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and wealthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and wealthy trait	156	-.159*	.048
Shejak speaker audio 2 and wealthy trait	156	-.175*	.029

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tables 6.50 – 6.53 depict the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the three voices associated with place of birth categories other than their own. There were correlations between the Kham informant variable and high ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "wealth" (audio 2) trait. Conversely there were correlations between the India informant variable and low ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "hardworking" (audio 1) and "wealthy" (audio 2) traits. There were also correlations between the India informant variable and low ratings of the Amdo voice regarding the "successful" (audio 2) traits.

There were correlations between the Kham informant variable and low ratings of the Utsang and Shejak voices regarding the "hardworking", "successful" and "wealthy" traits, and there

were correlations between the Utsang informant variable and low ratings of the Shejak voices regarding the "hardworking" (audio 2) trait.

This analysis suggests that India informants assign stigma regarding attainment traits to the Kham and Amdo voices and the Kham informants to the Utsang and Shejak voices, yet there were a number of statistically significant exceptions. There were statistically significant correlations between India informants and high ratings of the Amdo voice regarding the "wealthy" (audio 1 and 2) trait, and Amdo informants and high rates of the Kham and Shejak voices regarding the "hardworking" and "successful" traits.

Table 6.50 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the attainment traits assigned to the Amdo voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Hardworking	-	-	-
Successful	-	High in A2	Low in A2
Wealthy	-	-	High in A1&A2

Table 6.51 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the attainment traits assigned to the Kham voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Utsang	Shejak
Hardworking	High in A1&A2	-	Low in A1
Successful	High in A2	-	-
Wealthy	-	-	Low in A2

Table 6.52 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the attainment traits assigned to the Utsang voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Shejak
Hardworking	-	Low in A1&A2	-
Successful	-	Low in A2	-
Wealthy	-	Low in A2	-

Table 6.53 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the attainment traits assigned to the Shejak voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Utsang
Hardworking	High in A2	Low in A1	Low in A1
Successful	High in A1	Low in A1	-
Wealthy	-	Low in A1	-

6.1.5 The status and stigmatisation of affability

The four traits of "likeable", "friendly", "kind" and "helpful" were grouped together to form the fifth trait group "affability".

6.1.5.1 Mean average results for affability traits

Informants labelled the Kham (audio 1) and Amdo (audio 2) voices as most "likeable", "friendly" and "kind". Amdo was also seen as "the most helpful" in audio 2, and Shejak in audio 1. Conversely Amdo was seen as "the least helpful" in audio 1 and Shejak in audio 2. Shejak was also seen as "the least friendly" (audio 1 and 2) and "the least kind" (audio 2), while Utsang was labelled "the least likeable" (audio 1 and 2), and "the least kind" (audio 1). Therefore, in terms of the mean results, the data suggest Amdo and Kham to be the varieties mostly associated with the status of affability, and Utsang and Shejak the varieties mostly stigmatised regarding affability.

6.1.5.2 Mean average results for affability traits categorised by informant place of birth classification

Out of the 32 highest rated scenarios 19 were informants rating the voice associated with their place of birth category the highest. Therefore 59.4% of the responses for the affability status traits were assigned to the voice associated with the informants' place of birth identity construct. Alternatively to this scenario Amdo and Kham informants rated other voices the highest. No place of birth category rates the voice associated with it the lowest. 65.6% of the responses are India informants rating the Cholka-sum voices the lowest in each scenario. Plus Utsang informants rate the Shejak voice the lowest 7 out of 8 times.

The correlation results repeat some of the mean highest and lowest score trends. There were statistically significant correlations between high ratings of a voice associated with the place of birth of the informant.

6.1.5.3 Correlation analysis of the status and stigmatisation of affability

There were statistically significant correlations between all the four informants and high ratings in all of the four of the affability traits regarding the voice associated with the place of birth construct. Table 6.54 depicts the summaries of the statistically significant correlations informants from each of the four place of birth categories assigned to the voice associated with that category. Tables 6.55 – 6.67 depict the correlation coefficient data used to compile the summaries. However there was only one correlation between the India informant variable and the Shejak voice regarding the high rates of the "helpful" construct in audio 2.

Table 6.54 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the affability traits assigned to the associated place of birth voice

Traits	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Likeable	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2	High in A1	-
Friendly	High in A1&A2	High in A1	High in A1	-
Kind	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2	High in A1	-
Helpful	High in A1&A2	High in A1&A2	High in A2	High in A2

Table 6.55 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	-.234**	.003
Amdo speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	-.331**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.56 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	-.217**	.006
Kham speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	-.371**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.57 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	-.351**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.58 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.341**	.000
Amdo speaker audio 2 and friendly trait	156	-.238**	.003

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.59 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.321**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.60 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.233**	.003

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.61 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	-.247**	.002
Amdo speaker audio 2 and kind trait	156	-.342**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.62 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	-.396**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and kind trait	156	-.343**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.63 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	-.310**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.64 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	-.292**	.000
Amdo speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.386**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.65 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	-.348**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.204*	.011

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.66 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.278**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6.67 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.412**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Tables 6.22 – 6.71 depict the statistically significant correlations assigned by informants from each of the four place of birth categories to the three voices associated with place of birth categories other than their own. There were statistically significant correlations between Amdo informants and high ratings of the other three voices. There were correlations between the Amdo informant variable and high ratings of the Kham voice regarding the "likeable" (audio 1 and 2), "friendly" (audio 1), "kind" (audio 1) and "helpful" (audio 1 and 2), the Utsang voice regarding the "kind" trait (audio 1), and the Shejak voice regarding the "friendly" (audio 1) trait. There were also correlations between the Kham informant variable and high ratings of the Amdo voice regarding the "likeable" (audio 1), "friendly" (audio1), "kind" (audio 1) and "helpful" (audio 1 and 2) traits. These results suggest informants assign

affability status to the voice associated with their own place of birth construct, but also, to a lesser extent, to other Tibetic voices.

Conversely informants also stigmatised the voices not associated with their place of birth construct, specifically India and Utsang informants. There were statistically significant correlations between India informants and all three Cholka-sum varieties and low ratings of the affability traits, and correlations between the Utsang informant variable and low ratings of the three other non-Utsang voices.

Table 6.68 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the affability traits assigned to the Amdo voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Kham	Utsang	Shejak
Likeable	High in A1	Low in A1	Low in A1&A2
Friendly	High in A1	Low in A1	Low in A1&A2
Kind	High in A1	-	Low in A1
Helpful	High in A1&A2	Low in A2	Low in A1&A2

Table 6.69 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the affability traits assigned to the Kham voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Utsang	Shejak
Likeable	High in A1&A2	Low in A2	Low in A1&A2
Friendly	High in A1	Low in A1	Low in A1
Kind	High in A1	-	Low in A1&A2
Helpful	High in A1&A2	Low in A1	Low in A2

Table 6.70 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the affability traits assigned to the Utsang voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Shejak
Likeable	-	-	Low in A1&A2
Friendly	-	-	Low in A1
Kind	High in A2	-	-
Helpful	-	-	-

Table 6.71 Statistically significant correlations between VGT informant responses categorised by place of birth and the affability traits assigned to the Shejak voice

Traits	Place of birth		
	Amdo	Kham	Utsang
Likeable	-	-	Low in A2
Friendly	High in A1	-	Low in A1
Kind	-	-	-
Helpful	-	-	-

6.2 Questionnaire survey informants' attitudes towards Tibetic variety purity in the TDD

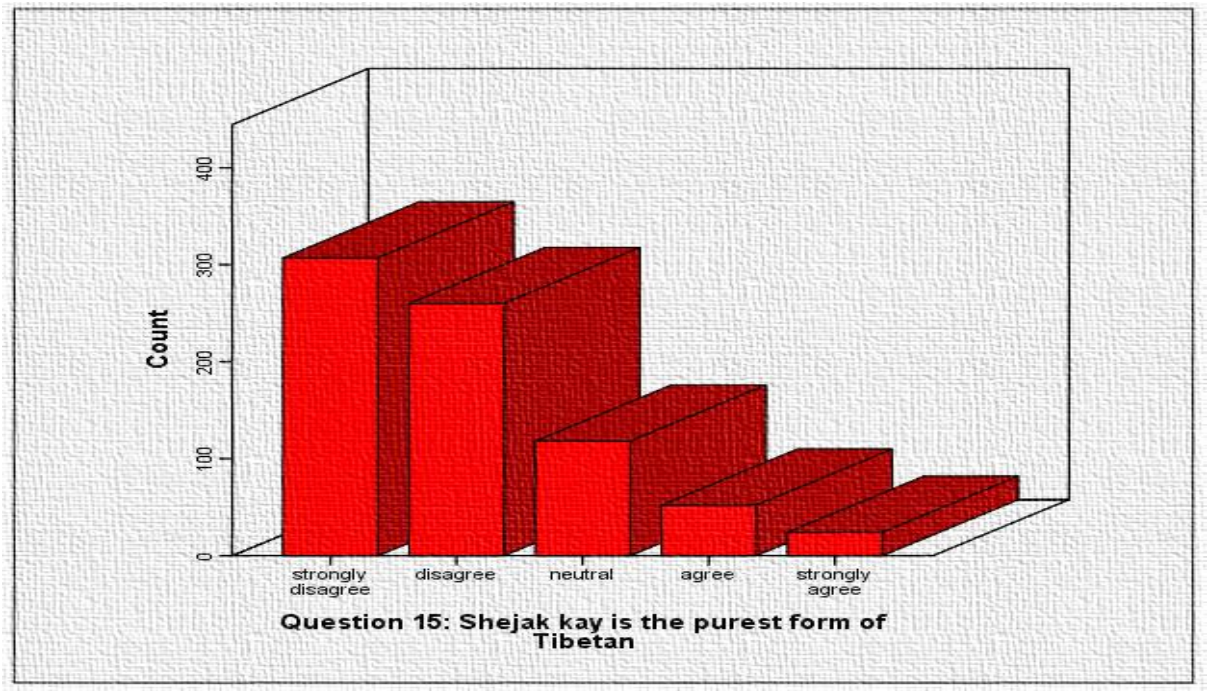
Section 6.2 presents the results of 2 questions from QS in combination with interview informants' statements regarding the purity of the Shejak and Utsang Tibetic varieties and purity issues regarding all Tibetic varieties in general in the TDD. Section 6.2.1 presents the results of QS question 15, and section 6.2.2 the results of QS question 10, while sections 6.2.3 – 6.2.6 report the interview results.

6.2.1 The Purity of shejak-skad

In QS question fifteen informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'shejak-skad is the purest form of Tibetan.' Informants could state whether they 'strongly disagreed', 'disagreed', were 'neutral', 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed.' While in other aspects of this research informants have comprehensively and categorically stated that Shejak was not pure, this question provided an alternative means for informants to express their opinion. The question was not only used to report on informants' views to the purity of shejak-skad but also to establish to what degree informants were willing to stigmatise this Tibetic variety.

Figure 6.1 depicts informant responses to the statement in QS question 15. 307 informants (38.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 260 (32.5%) disagreed, 118 (14.7%) were neutral, 52 (6.5%) agreed and 24 (3%) strongly agreed. Therefore in total 567 informants (70.8%) expressed a negative response to the statement and 76 informants (9.5%) expressed a positive sentiment to the statement.

Figure 6.1 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'shejak-skad is the purest form of Tibetan'



6.2.1.1 The Purity of shejak-skad results categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 6.2 depicts the results from QS question fifteen, categorised using the place of birth variable in an eyeball judgement form.

In the Amdo category, with a total of 86 informants;

- 44 (51.2%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 29 (33.7%) disagreed, 8 (9.3%) were neutral, 3 (3.5%) agreed and 2 (2.3%) strongly agreed.

In the Kham category, with a total of 215 informants;

- 112 (52.1%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 66 (30.7%) disagreed, 26 (12.1%) were neutral, 6 (2.8%) agreed and 5 (2.3%) strongly agreed.

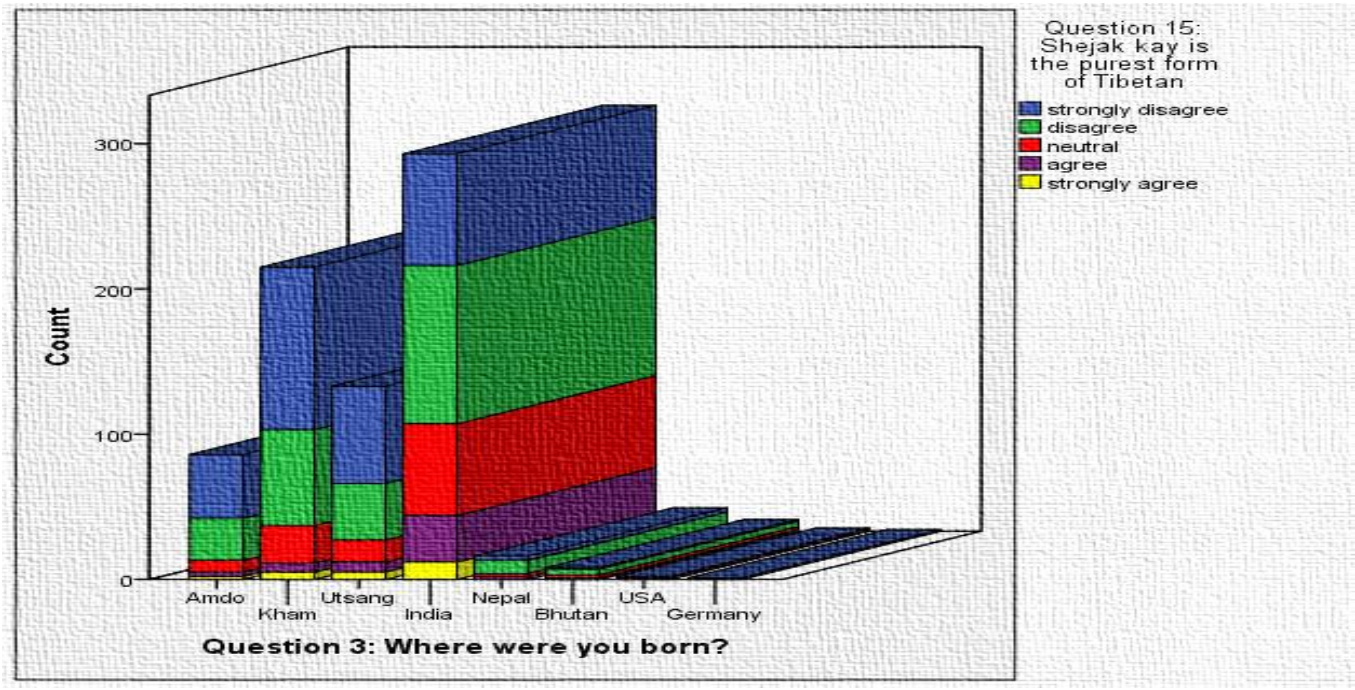
In the Utsang category, with a total of 133 informants;

- 67 (50.4%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 39 (29.3%) disagreed, 15 (11.3%) were neutral, 7 (5.3%) agreed and 5 (3.8%) strongly agreed.

In the India category, with a total of 293 informants;

- 77 (26. 3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 109 (37.2%) disagreed, 63 (21.5%) were neutral, 32 (10.9%) agreed and 12 (4.1%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.2 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'shejak-skad is the purest form of Tibetan' categorised by place of birth



6.2.1.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question fifteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 tables A3.85 – A3.87).

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question fifteen and the gender of informants. A -.123** correlation for male informants and a .123** correlation for female informants suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement, and male informants and disagreement.

There is a statistically significant correlation between QS question fifteen and the age of informants allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question fifteen and the number of Tibetic varieties informants spoke and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants speak and comprehend the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question fifteen.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question fifteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 2 tables A3.88 – A3.92).

There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham, Utsang and India and responses to QS question fifteen. While the Cholka-sum

informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question fifteen, India category informants are statistically more likely to show agreement. There are statistically significant correlations between India informants regarding QS question fifteen responses and informants' gender. A -.132* correlation for male informants and a .132* correlation for female informants born in India suggests that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement, and male informants and disagreement.

There is a statistically significant correlation between QS question fifteen and the age of informants in the India category, allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question fifteen and the number of Tibetic varieties Kham and India category informants reported speaking and comprehending. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties India informants spoke and comprehended and the more Kham informants comprehended, the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question fifteen.

6.2.2 The purity of dbus-gtsang-skad

In QS question ten informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'dbus-gtsang-skad spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan'. Informants could state whether they 'strongly disagreed', 'disagreed', were 'neutral', 'agreed' or 'strongly agreed'.

Figure 6.3 QS informant responses regarding the statement ‘dbus-gtsang-skad spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan’

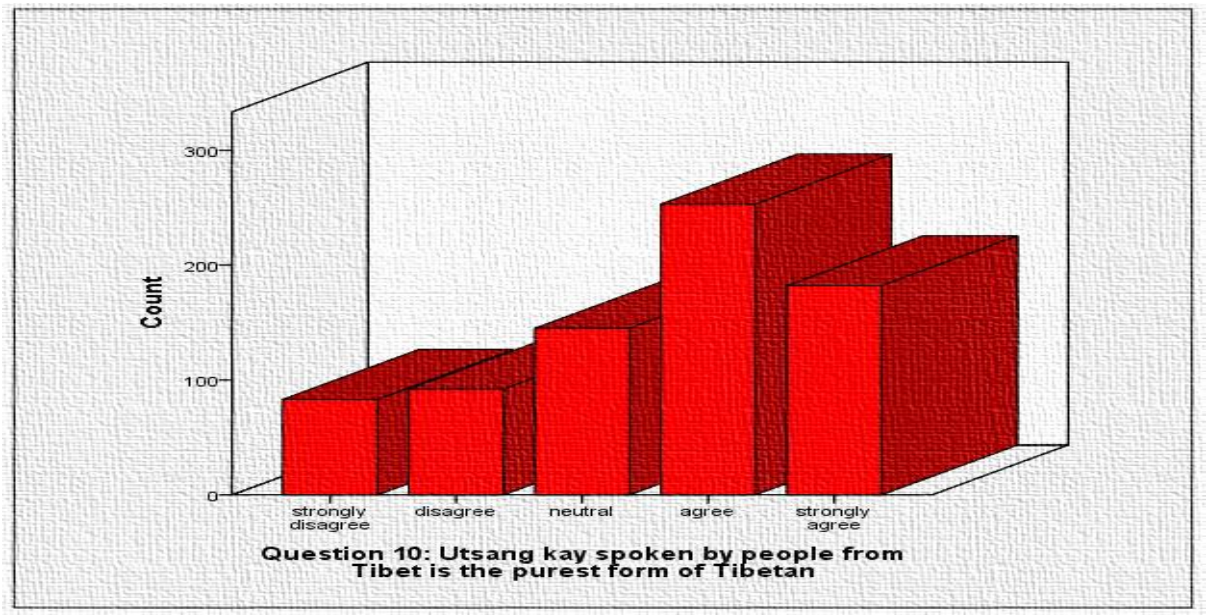


Figure 6.3 depicts informant responses to the statement in QS question ten. 83 informants (10.4%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 92 (11.5%) disagreed, 145 (18.1%) were neutral, 253 (31.6%) agreed and 182 (22.7%) strongly agreed. Therefore in total 175 informants (21.9%) expressed a negative sentiment to the statement and 435 informants (54.3%) expressed a positive sentiment to the statement.

6.2.2.1 The purity of dbus-gtsang-skad categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 6.4 depicts the results from QS question ten, categorised using the place of birth variable in an eyeball judgement form.

In the Amdo category, with a total of 88 informants;

- 20 (22.7%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 18 (20.5%) disagreed, 20 (22.7%) were neutral, 16 (18.2%) agreed and 14 (15.9%) strongly agreed.

In the Kham category, with a total of 212 informants

- 34 (16%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 26 (12.3%) disagreed, 40 (18.9%) were neutral, 64 (30.2%) agreed and 48 (22.6%) strongly agreed.

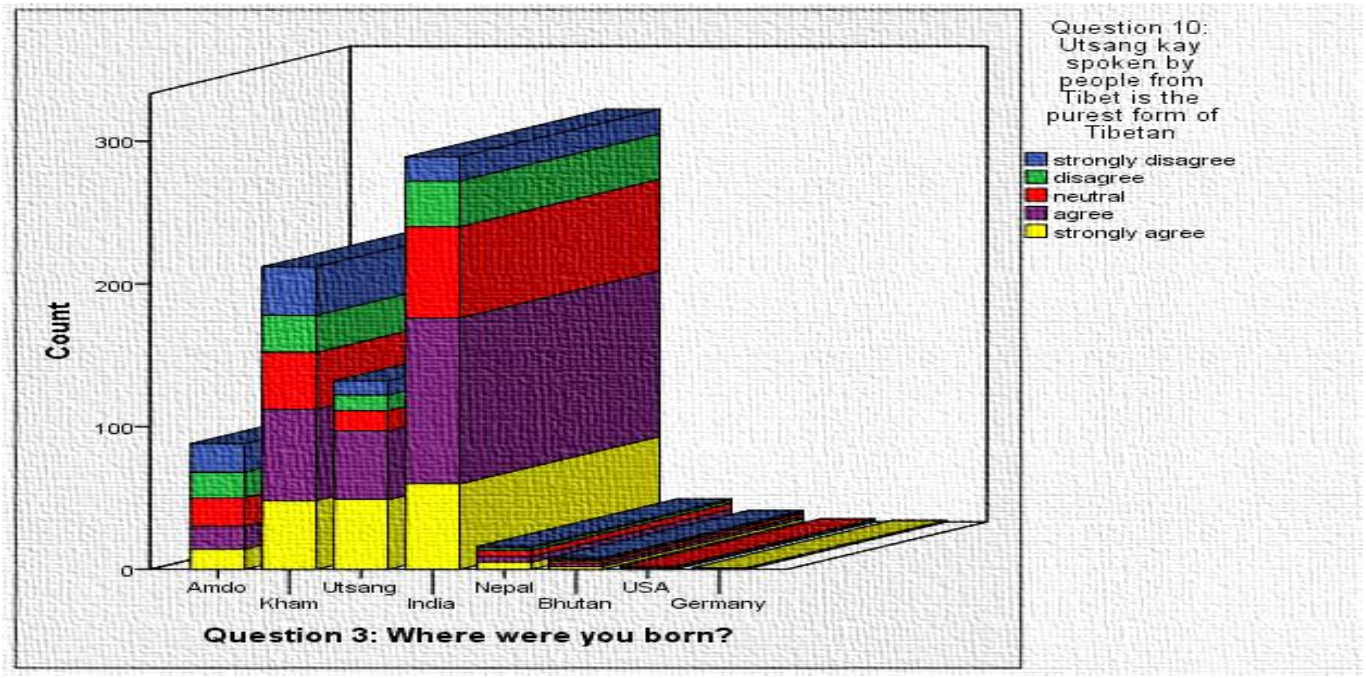
In the Utsang category, with a total of 132 informants;

- 10 (7.6%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 11 (8.3%) disagreed, 14 (10.6%) were neutral, 48 (36.4%) agreed and 49 (37.1%) strongly agreed.

In the India category, with a total of 289 informants;

- 17 (5.9%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 32 (11.1%) disagreed, 64 (22.1%) were neutral, 116 (40.1%) agreed and 60 (20.8%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.4 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'dbus-gtsang-skad spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan' categorised by place of birth



6.2.2.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question ten and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 tables A3.93 – A3.94). A -.083* correlation for male informants and a .083* correlation for female informants suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement, and male informants and disagreement. There is statistically significant correlation between QS question ten and the age of informants allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question ten and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 3 tables A3.95 – A3.96).

There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Amdo and Utsang informants and their responses to QS question ten. While the Amdo informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question ten Utsang informants are statistically more likely to show agreement.

There is statistically significant correlation between QS question ten and the age of informants in the Amdo category, allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

6.2.3 Linguistic purity of Tibetic varieties

Typically informants reported that dbus-gtsang-skad or lhasa-skad was the purest form of the Tibetan language. This view was expressed by interview informants from all regional groups and those who had lived in Dharamsala for an extended period. The reasons informants gave as to why they thought lhasa-skad or dbus-gtsang-skad was the purest were varied, but several informants expressed the notion that one important element was that lhasa-skad or dbus-gtsang-skad was pure because people from other regions could understand it. Lhasa-skad or dbus-gtsang-skad was also described as being 'clear', 'slow' and 'soft' as well as the Tibetic variety spoken by government officials, and it was seen as pure because of the use of honorifics. Informant 18 believed that dbus-gtsang-skad derived some of its status of purity through its usage in the dubbing of films, 'in Tibet we have movies after dinner, always like that dbus-gtsang-skad, and Chinese didn't use khams-skad or a-mdo-skad'. Informant 26 mentioned a notion of social construction in exile which assigned status to dbus-gtsang-skad, stating that 'Utsang is the purest form maybe, why, cause Tibetan situation is value in Utsang only'. Informant 36 assigned the status of purity to dbus-gtsang-skad through markers of social constructs in Tibetan culture: 'his holiness [the 14th Dalai Lama] is also from Amdo but he is speaking Utsang'.

Shejak informant 7 stated that, 'I think dbus-gtsang-skad is the purest form of the Tibetan language, all Tibetans can understand, but people from Utsang sometimes do not understand the Tibetan we speak, Shejak Tibetan, for example we mix English and Hindi in our language'. She also states that she believes people from Amdo and Kham speak pure Tibetan too but that it is 'very difficult to understand'. She states that even though she knows the Tibetan words she will often use English or Hindi 'because it's more easier'.

Many of the informants expressed the notion that Tibetan varieties from Tibet were pure, but mixing Tibetan in any way polluted the language, 'all the three languages, if they are speaking proper Tibetan all of them are pure. The language that I am speaking [shejak-skad] is not pure one. So if a newly arrived Amdo is speaking a Tibetan mixed with Chinese it is not pure, it's similar to us' (informant 44). Informant 42 reiterated the point regarding the Cholka-sum Tibetic varieties, 'there is no purest form. Three [dbus-gtsang-skad, a-mdo-skad, khams-skad] they are all pure, Amdo when they in Amdo, when they speak with Amdo then it's pure Amdo, pure Kham, pure Utsang. When they come here, these days it's all a little bit mix'. This last point is interesting as it recognises that the Tibetan language in the TDD is not only mixing with the English and Hindi languages but that all Tibetic varieties in the TDD are also intermingling. Informant 44 expressed a similar view, 'those who speak very well in all languages [Tibetic varieties] that is the purest language.'

6.2.4 The purity and value of Tibetic varieties

Informants in the interviews expressed views associated with the diasporic culture of preservation. These informants expressed an awareness that the Tibetan culture was inextricably linked to the Tibetan language. As the Tibetan culture was perceived to be varied and equally represented by each traditional element associated with Tibet such as the Cholka-sum variation, then all the Tibetic varieties through association were perceived to be of importance. Interview informants presented this concept by initially declaring that all varieties of Tibetan were as important as each other, yet while it was often the case that Shejak informants would state that shejak-skad was of equal importance to Sanjo varieties, it invariably lost a degree of status as the issue was explored as it was perceived to be corrupted

by non-Tibetic varieties. It was this notion that shejak-skad was impure which appeared as a definitive label stigmatising this variety.

6.2.5 Ra-ma-luk-skad as a marker of impurity

The ra-ma-luk-skad concept was a salient concept expressed by many informants and is a well-known Tibetan cultural item. Generally it was used to describe the awareness of grammatical errors in Shejak varieties and the 'mixing' of Tibetan typically with Hindi or English. There were numerous opinions expressed by informants on shejak-skad, identifying this or these Tibetic varieties as positive and negative Tibetan cultural items. Conversely, while interview informants recognised the concept of Chinese influencing Tibetan, Sanjo varieties were not described as ra-ma-luk-skad. For most informants the issue of the language contact situation in Tibet was on the loss or imposed eradication of Tibetan and not change or influence. The interviews also produced a general response where informants were unlikely to describe the 'mixing' of Tibetic varieties by Sanjos as ra-ma-luk, and therefore less likely to stigmatise the Tibetan spoken by Sanjos. While informants did suggest that the mixing of Sanjo Tibetic varieties was not a positive development generally Sanjo speech practices were not stigmatised as corrupted by other varieties in the TDD.

6.3 Questionnaire survey informants' attitudes towards the utility of Tibetic varieties in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

Section 6.3 presents the results of 3 questions from QS in combination with interview informants' statements regarding the utility of Tibetic varieties in the TDD. Section 6.3.1 presents the results of QS question eleven, section 6.3.2 the results of QS question thirteen,

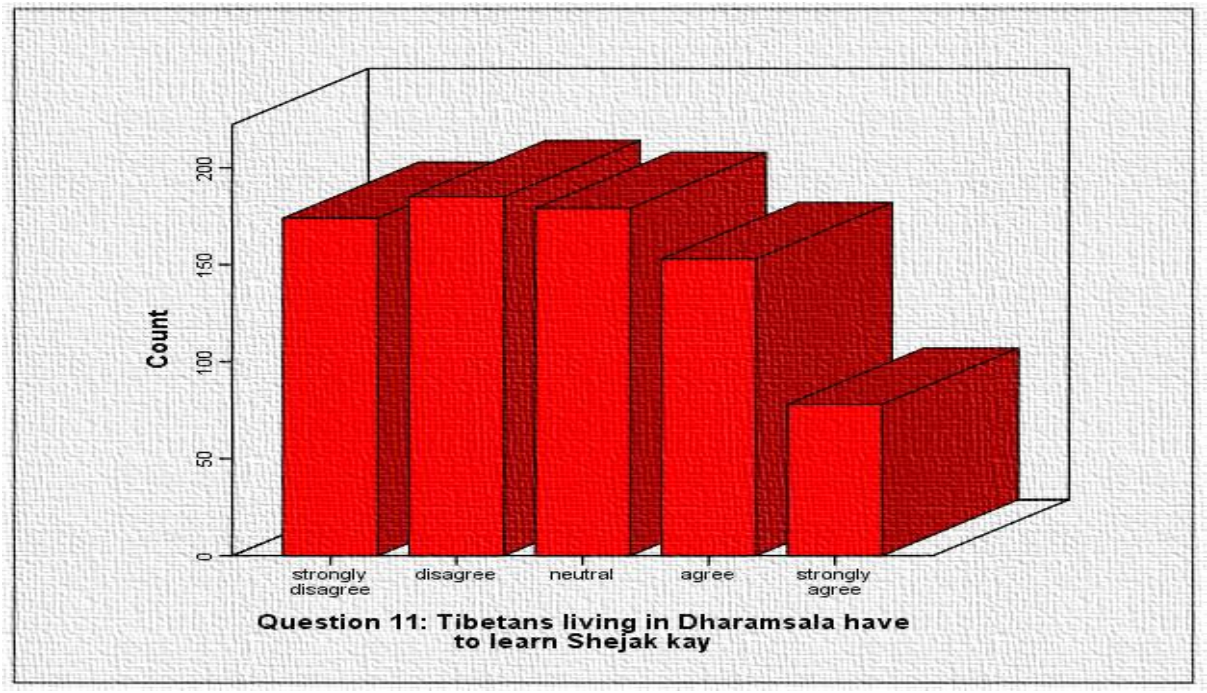
section 6.3.3 the results of QS question twelve, while sections 6.2.4 reports the interview informant results.

6.3.1 The utility of shejak-skad in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

In QS question eleven informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn shejak-skad'. The primary motivation for eliciting informants' attitudinal responses to this statement was to establish informants' alacrity to acquire the diasporic Tibetic variety shejak-skad, a variety seen by many informants throughout the research as having less status than non-diasporic Tibetic varieties, and the motivation to acquire a possibly undesirable Tibetic variety when other options of developing broader comprehension in a multiple Tibetic variety model may be more desirable while perhaps neither case is mutually exclusive.

Figure 6.5 depicts informant responses to the statement in QS question eleven. 174 informants (21.7%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 185 (23.1%) disagreed, 179 (22.3%) were neutral, 153 (19.1%) agreed and 78 (9.7%) strongly agreed. Therefore in total 359 informants (44.8%) expressed a negative sentiment to the statement and 231 informants (28.8%) expressed a positive sentiment to the statement.

Figure 6.5 QS informant responses regarding the statement, 'Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn shejak-skad'



6.3.1.1 The utility of shejak-skad in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora results categorised using the place of birth variable

As shown as an eyeball judgement in Figure 6.6, in the Amdo category, with a total of 89 informants;

- 27 (30.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 19 (21.3%) disagreed, 19 (21.3%) were neutral, 14 (15.7%) agreed and 10 (11.2%) strongly agreed.

In the other Cholka-sum categories the results were similar with the largest number of responses stating strong disagreement and the smallest number of responses stating strong agreement. In the Kham category, with a total of 217 informants;

- 57 (26.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 53 (24.4%) disagreed, 41 (18.9%) were neutral, 38 (17.5%) agreed and 28 (12.9%) strongly agreed.

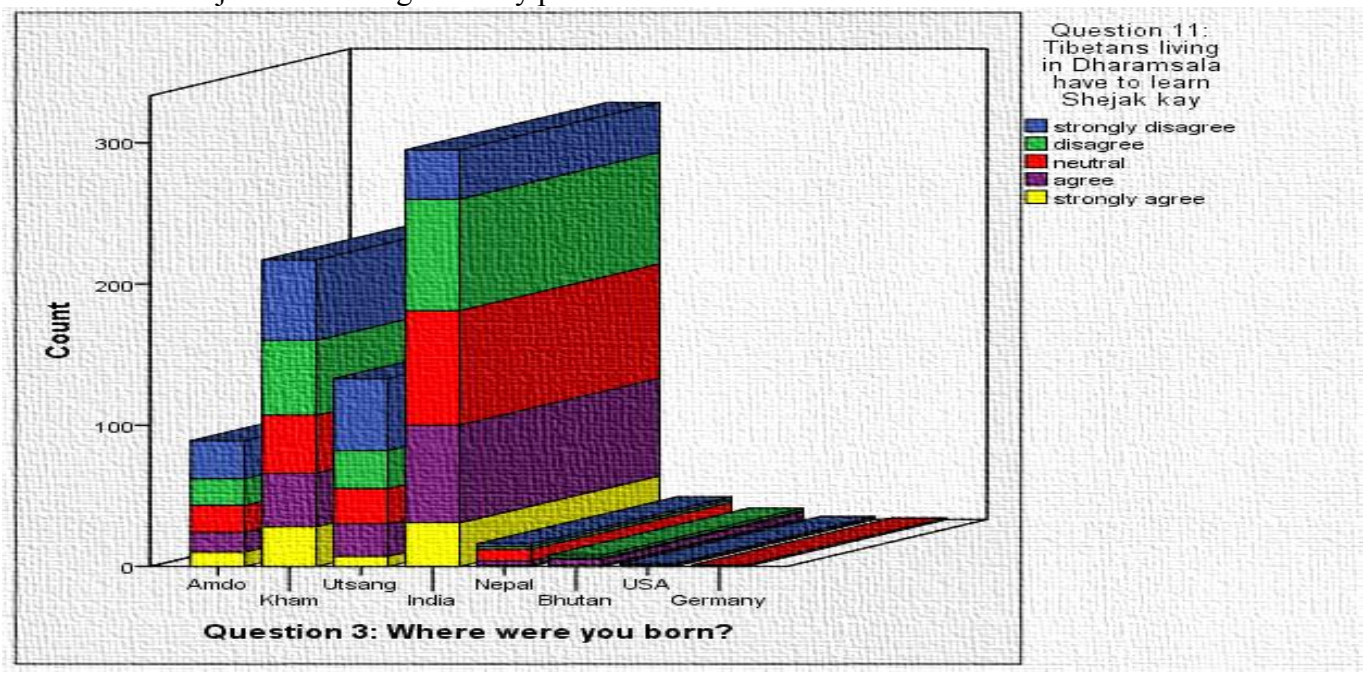
In the Utsang category, with a total of 133 informants;

- 51 (38.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 27 (20.3%) disagreed, 25 (18.8%) were neutral, 23 (17.3%) agreed and 7 (5.3%) strongly agreed.

The results of the India category differed from the previous ones in that the largest response was to state neutrality to the statement, followed by disagreement and then agreement. Of the total of 295 informants;

- 35 (11.9%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 79 (26.8%) disagreed, 81 (27.5%) were neutral, 69 (23.4%) agreed and 31 (10.5%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.6 QS informant responses regarding the statement, 'Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn shejak-skad' categorised by place of birth



6.3.1.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question eleven and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and

the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 tables A3.97 – A3.99). The correlations for gender were calculated by creating two separate data sets for male and female and adding dummy cases. Therefore there is a -.100** correlation for male informants and a .100** correlation for female informants, suggesting that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement, and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question eleven and the age of informants allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with an increase in the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question eleven and the number of Tibetic varieties spoken and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants speak and comprehend, the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question eleven.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question eleven and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 3 tables A3.100 – A3.104).

There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Utsang and India informants and their responses to QS question eleven. While Utsang informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question eleven India informants are statistically more likely to show agreement. Using the same system to calculate the relationship between gender and place of birth as the overall results above, statistically significant correlations were found to exist in both the Kham and Utsang

categories with a -.151* and a -.183* correlation for Kham and Utsang male informants respectively and a .151* and a .183* correlation for Kham and Utsang female informants, suggesting that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlation between QS question eleven and the age of informants in the India category, allowing the summation that an increase in the informants' age correlates with the likelihood to disagree with the statement.

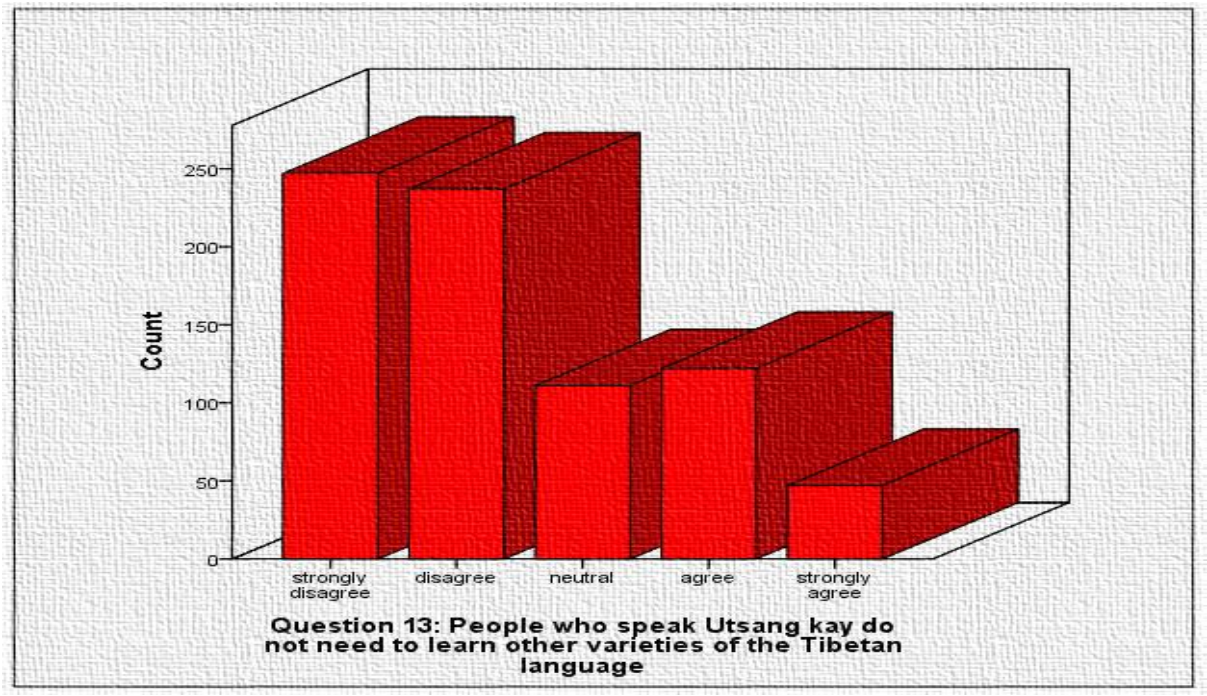
There are statistically significant correlations between QS question eleven and the number of Tibetic varieties India category informants spoke and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties India category informants speak and comprehend, the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question eleven.

6.3.2 The utility of dbus-gtsang-skad in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

In question thirteen informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'people who speak dbus-gtsang-skad do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language.' This question sought to continue the enquiry into the concept of the multiple Tibetic variety model by eliciting responses regarding a Tibetic variety regarded as being prominent in the TDD. This particular variety is often associated with the concept of standard Tibetan and therefore this aspect of the questionnaire sought to establish whether informants' attitudinal responses supported such notions or not, or whether further evidence could be provided to suggest that a multiple Tibetic variety model was a more appropriate summation of TDD circumstances.

Figure 6.7 depicts informant responses to the statement in QS question thirteen. 247 informants (30.8%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 237 (29.6%) disagreed, 111 (13.9%) were neutral, 122 (15.2%) agreed and 47 (5.9%) strongly agreed. Therefore in total 484 informants (60.4%) expressed a negative response to the statement and 169 informants (21.1%) expressed a positive response to the statement.

Figure 6.7 QS informant responses regarding the statement, 'people who speak dbus-gtsang-skad do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language'



6.3.2.1 The utility of dbus-gtsang-skad in the TDD: results categorised using the place of birth variable

As shown as an eyeball judgement in Figure 6.8, in the Amdo category with a total of 89 informants;

- 44 (49.4%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 25 (28.1%) disagreed, 6 (6.7%) were neutral, 12 (13.5%) agreed and 2 (2.2%) strongly agreed.

In the Kham category, with a total of 214 informants;

- 99 (46.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 68 (31.8%) disagreed, 21 (9.8%) were neutral, 16 (7.5%) agreed and 10 (4.7%) strongly agreed.

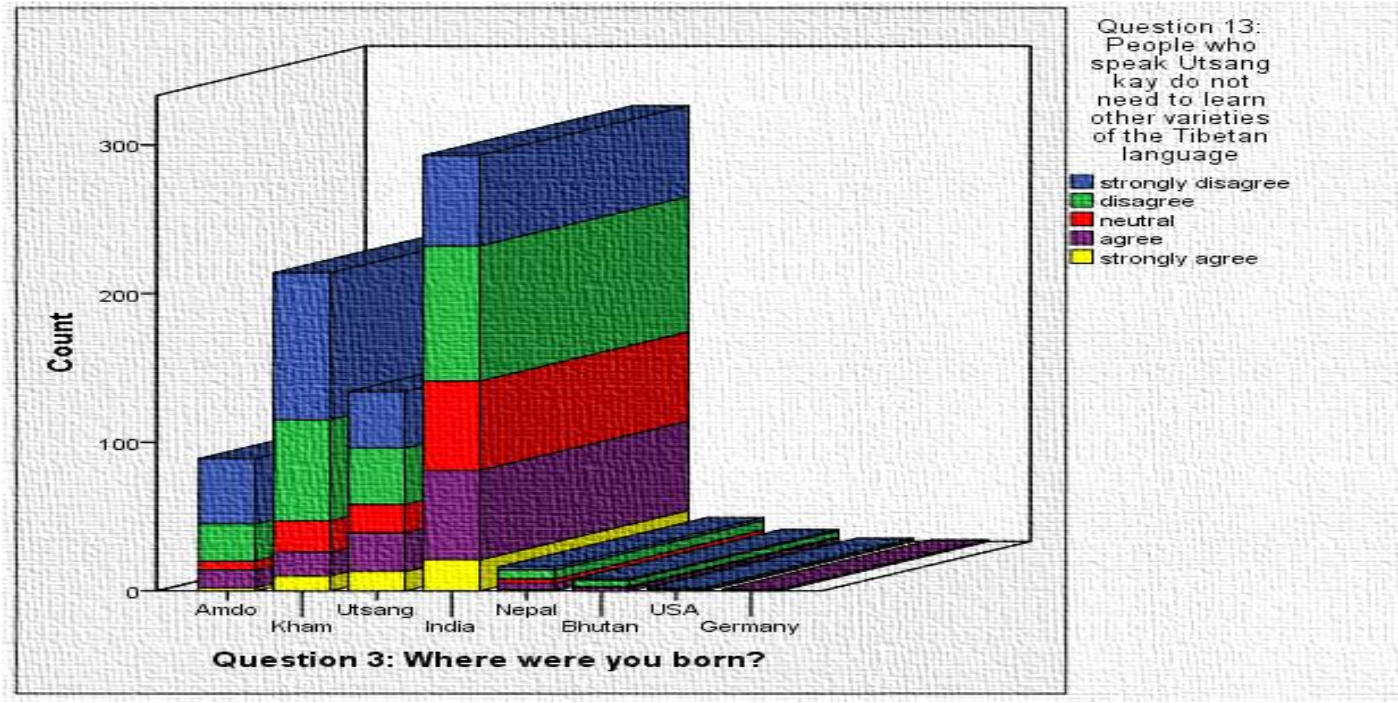
In the Utsang category, with a total of 134 informants;

- 38 (28.4%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 38 (28.4%) disagreed, 19 (14.2%) were neutral, 26 (19.4%) agreed and 13 (9.7%) strongly agreed.

In the India category, with a total of 293 informants;

- 61 (20.8%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 91 (31.1%) disagreed, 60 (20.5%) were neutral, 60 (20.5%) agreed and 21 (7.2%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.8 QS informant responses regarding the statement, 'people who speak dbus-gtsang-skad do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language' categorised by place of birth



6.3.2.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question thirteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 tables A3.105 – A3.106). There are statistically significant correlations between QS question thirteen and the gender of informants. A -.103** correlation for male informants and a .103** correlation for female informants suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question thirteen and the number of Tibetic varieties informants spoke and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants speak and comprehend, the less likely they are to state agreement with QS question thirteen.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question thirteen and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 3 tables A3.107 – A3.109). There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Amdo, Kham and India informants and their responses to QS question thirteen. While Amdo and Kham informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question thirteen, India informants are statistically more likely to show agreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between Kham and Utsang informants regarding QS question thirteen responses and informants' gender. In both the Kham and

Utsang categories there is a -.147* and a -.193* correlation for Kham and Utsang male informants respectively, and a .147* and a .193* correlation for Kham and Utsang female informants, suggesting that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement, and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question thirteen and the number of Tibetic varieties Amdo and Utsang informants comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties Amdo and Utsang informants comprehend, the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question thirteen.

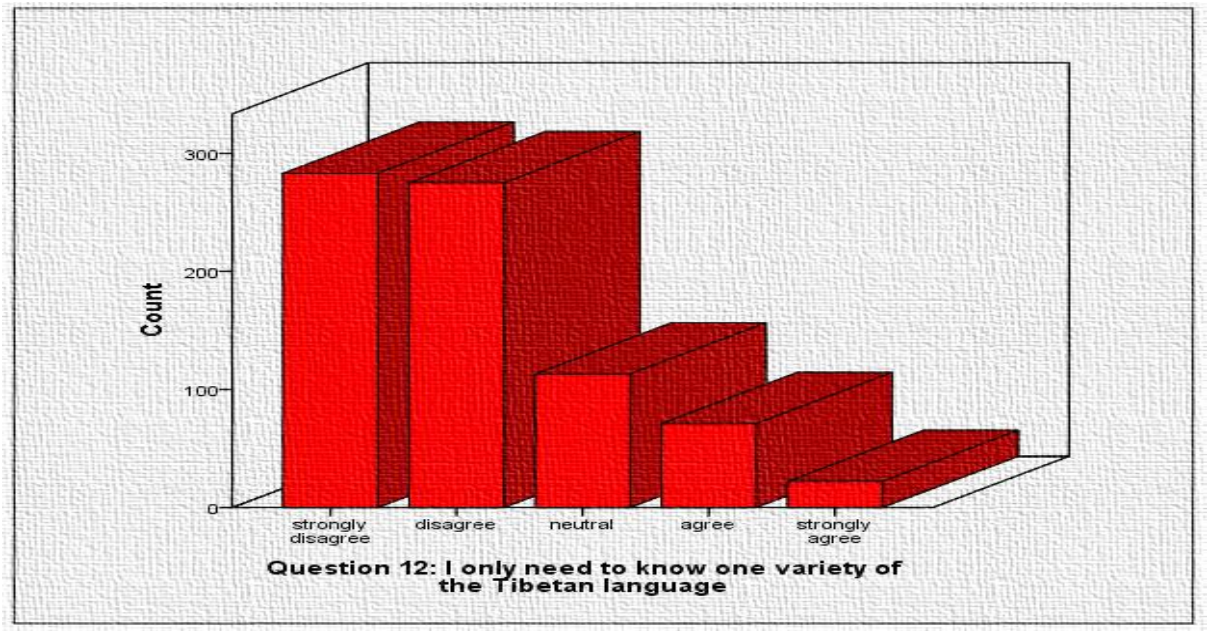
6.3.3 The utility of mono-Tibetic variety repertoires

In question twelve informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement with the statement 'I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language.' This question was designed to elicit informant responses on whether they reported having a single or multiple Tibetic variety repertoires. While the previous two questions had focused on two specific varieties, this one sought to develop enquiry into the number of Tibetic varieties informants recognised in their own repertoires, verify informants' responses and develop the understanding of informant opinions regarding linguistic boundaries in the Tibetan language. QS question twelve was also specifically designed with a degree of ambiguity. As informants had already been asked questions which drew a distinction between the concepts of linguistic performance and comprehension it was decided to phrase this question using the term 'know'.

Figure 6.9 depicts informant responses to the statement in Q2 question twelve. 283 informants (35.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 275 (34.3%) disagreed, 113 (14.1%) were neutral, 71 (8.9%) agreed and 22 (2.7%) strongly agreed. Therefore in total 558

informants (69.9%) expressed a negative response to the statement and 93 informants (11.6%) expressed a positive response.

Figure 6.9 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language'



6.3.3.1 The utility of mono-Tibetic variety repertories categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 6.10 depicts the results of QS question twelve categorised using the place of birth variable as an eyeball judgment. In the Amdo category, with a total of 90 informants;

- 36 (40%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 32 (35.6%) disagreed, 8 (8.9%) were neutral, 10 (11.1%) agreed and 4 (4.4%) strongly agreed.

In the Kham category, with a total of 217 informants;

- 117 (53.9%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 69 (31.8%) disagreed, 18 (8.3%) were neutral, 8 (3.7%) agreed and 5 (2.3%) strongly agreed.

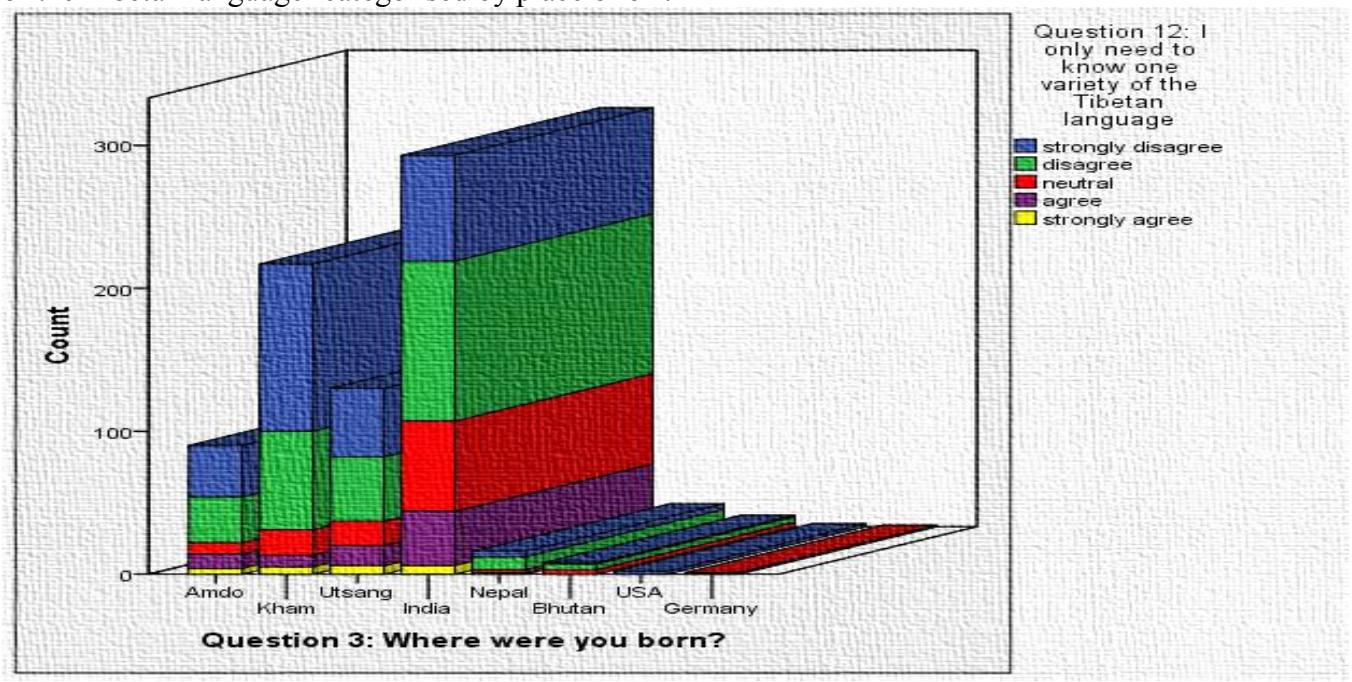
In the Utsang category, with a total of 130 informants;

- 48 (36.9%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 45 (34.6%) disagreed, 17 (13.1%) were neutral, 14 (10.8%) agreed and 6 (4.6%) strongly agreed.

In the India category, with a total of 293 informants;

- 74 (25.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 112 (38.2%) disagreed, 63 (21.5%) were neutral, 38 (13%) agreed and 6 (2%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.10 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language' categorised by place of birth



6.3.3.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question twelve and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 tables A3.110 – A3.111). There are statistically significant correlations between QS question twelve and the gender of informants. A -.080* correlation for male informants and a .080*

correlation for female informants suggest that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement, and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question twelve and the number of Tibetic varieties informants spoke and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants speak and comprehend, the less likely they are to agree with QS question twelve.

Further correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question twelve and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables with the informant responses categorised by place of birth (please see appendix 3 tables A3.112 – A3.115).

There are statistically significant correlations between the place of birth categories of Kham and India informants and their responses. While Kham informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question twelve India informants are statistically more likely to show agreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between Kham and Utsang informants regarding QS question twelve responses and informants' gender. In both the Kham and Utsang categories, with a -.222** and a -.183* correlation for Kham and Utsang male informants respectively, and a .222* and a .183* correlation for Kham and Utsang female informants suggesting that there is a statistically significant relationship between female informants and agreement with the statement and male informants and disagreement.

There are statistically significant correlations between QS question twelve and the number of Tibetic varieties Kham and Utsang informants spoke and comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties Kham informants spoke, and the more Tibetic varieties Kham and Utsang informants comprehend, the less likely they are to state agreement to QS question twelve.

6.3.4 Useful Tibetic varieties

Three interview informants, all from Tibet, stated that they thought shejak-skad was the most useful. Informant 1 stated that 'if shejak-skad gets rid of the vocabulary and grammar mistakes then its good che-skad'. Informant 30 stated that shejak-skad was only the most useful in India and that there were more Tibetans in Tibet. Informant 35 stated 'if I say dbus-gtsang-skad is more useful then maybe Amdo guy will say not, a-mdo-skad is more useful, in terms of how easy it is to speak another dialect or language I think dbus-gtsang-skad is less difficult. Shejak is commonly based on the central Tibetan dialect, after a few months they can begin to speak, people from Amdo or Kham'.

Informant 31 stated that he thought the Tibetic variety spoken by the Dalai Lama was the most used and that he would describe that variety as shejak-skad. He stated that he thought 90% of what the Dalai Lama spoke was dbus-gtsang-skad. This is an interesting point regarding the status and stigmatisation of Tibetic varieties. The multi-Tibetic variety structure in the TDD, in conjunction with the multiple intra-Tibetan identities, contributes to a situation where even though informants may stigmatise a particular Tibetic variety, conflicting attitudinal components of status are often assigned and are frequently recognised by informants.

Typically dbus-gtsang-skad was seen as being particularly useful. 'If you know Utsang Tibetan you can, I think, it is very easy to connect with other Tibetans, but if you only know Khampa, Kham or Amdo and you go down to a Tibetan community in Bylakuppe[47] you will get lost actually (informant 44). Informant 10 agreed, 'basically Utsang speak is for the language, so it is very useful, also if contact another people from Amdo and Kham, if Amdo and Kham one person Amdo and one person Kham they contact they can't understand, so then they use dbus-gtsang-skad and then they can understand each other, in exile if use Amdo speak only, Kham speak only so then they cannot contact with each other, that's why Utsang speak is directly in the language'. During the interview with informant 41 from Kham I asked the informant and the translator, also from Kham, what language they were speaking with each other. The translator told me that they were both speaking dbus-gtsang-skad. I had asked this translator this question before when we were interviewing other Khampas and he generally told me that they were speaking khams-skad, so I then asked him about this again to which he replied, 'actually most speaking is Utsang speaking but we use Kham vocabulary'.

Many informants expressed the belief that it was useful and necessary to acquire a multiple Tibetic variety speech repertoire. Informant 2 stated that 'we need all', and informant 8 stated that 'all [Tibetic varieties] are useful'. There was evidence that, in the multiple Tibetic variety model in the TDD, these varieties were 'mixing'. When asked which Tibetic variety is the most useful in Dharamsala informant 8 explained 'Dasa I say, it is no good because I think all of the useful, here is speak most of Utsang and Shejak mix, their speak is not clear, Utsang and Shejak mix, Dasa speak is not clear they have mix Amdo, Kham, Utsang and Shejak, all of the mix, then not clear here'. She develops the point by saying 'I think my speak is clear

[47] A Tibetan settlement in South India.

not mix, but I call my brother and sister in Tibet and they say oh why you speak, what is this, it is mix, not Kham, not Amdo, not Utsang, what is this speak?'

6.4 Further aspects regarding Tibetic variety status

Section 6.4 presents the results of 2 questions from QS in combination with interview informants' statements on issues regarding the status of Tibetic varieties and the multiple Tibetic variety model. Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.3 present the results of QS question seven and interview informants' views regarding the status of certain Tibetic varieties, sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.4 present the results of QS question nine and interview informants' views regarding the multiple Tibetic variety model, while section 6.4.5 presents interview informants' views regarding the status of the Tibetan language in Tibet.

6.4.1 The status of questionnaire survey informants' repertoires

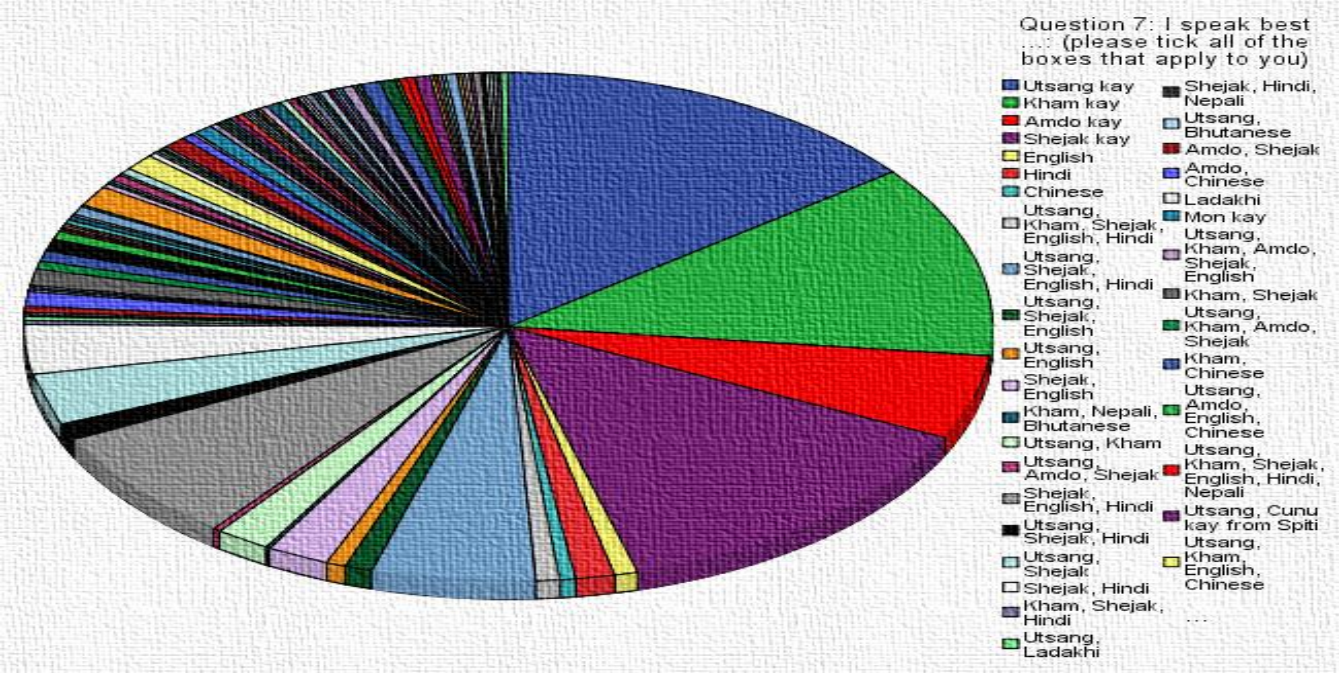
In question seven informants were asked to report on which language or languages and Tibetic variety or varieties they believed they spoke best. Informants could choose all applicable statements from 8 categories: dbus-gtsang-skad, khams-skad, a-mdo-skad, shejak-skad, English, Hindi, Chinese, and 'other, please specify.' While the question no doubt elicits responses regarding the concept of ability, it was employed to develop understanding of the concept of linguistic status in the TDD with an awareness of two specific aspects. Firstly, would informants choose the variety associated with their place of birth categorisation, or would they name a different variety either related to a hometown or more localised area? Or in the case of the India category, would informants state that they spoke a non-diasporic Tibetic variety? Secondly, would informants report multiple Tibetic varieties or a single

Tibetic variety? Or multiple linguistic varieties, with perhaps the latter signifying the status and halo effect of non-Tibetic varieties in the TDD and the former the degree of status of a multiple Tibetic variety model?

Figure 6.11 depicts QS informant responses regarding which linguistic and Tibetic varieties they spoke best in an eyeball judgment form. 112 informants (14%) stated that they spoke dbus-gtsang-skad the best, 104 (13%) shejak-skad, 94 (11.7%) khams-skad, 41 (5.1%) a-mdo-skad, 10 (1.2%) Hindi, 6 (0.7%) English, and 4 (0.5%) Chinese. All other informants stated that they spoke a number of linguistic varieties the best. 56 informants (7%) stated that they spoke shejak-skad, English and Hindi the best, 42 (5.2%) dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi, 25 (3.1%) dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad, 24 (3%) shejak-skad and Hindi, 16 (2%) shejak-skad and English.

Therefore, regardless of whether informants were monolingual or multilingual, 330 informants (41.2%) stated that they believed that they spoke dbus-gtsang-skad the best, 200 informants (25%) khams-skad, 107 informants (13.4%) a-mdo-skad, 367 informants (45.8%) shejak-skad, 214 informants (26.7%) English, 201 informants (25.1%) Hindi, and 71 informants (8.9%) Chinese.

Figure 6.11 QS informant responses regarding which linguistic and Tibetic varieties they spoke best



6.4.1.1 The status of questionnaire survey informants' repertoires categorised using the place of birth variable

As shown as an eyeball judgment in Figure 6.12, in the Amdo category, with a total of 92 informants;

- 40 (43.5%) stated that they spoke 'a-mdo-skad' the best, 7 (7.6%) 'shejak-skad', 7 (7.6%) 'a-mdo-skad and Chinese', 5 (5.4%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad and a-mdo-skad', 3 (3.3%) 'a-mdo-skad and shejak-skad'; with a further 23 other cases ranging in size from 2 informants (2.1%) to 1 informant (1.1%).

In the Kham category, with a total of 218 informants;

- 90 (41.3%) stated that they spoke 'khams-skad' the best, 15 (6.9%) 'shejak-skad', 12 (5.5%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad and khams-skad', 9 (4.1%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad', 8 (3.7%)

'khams-skad and shejak-skad'; with a further 52 other categories ranging in size from 6 informants (2.8%) to 1 (0.5%).

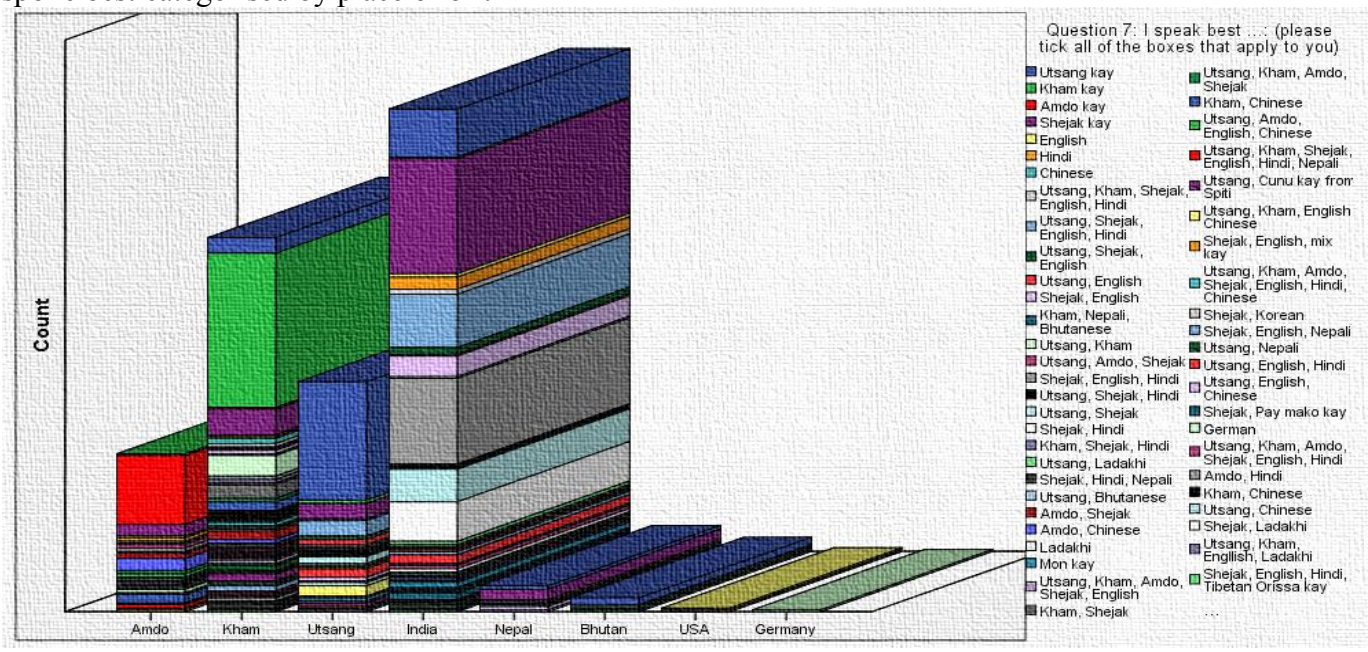
In the Utsang category, with a total of 136 informants;

- 69 (51.5%) stated that they spoke 'dbus-gtsang-skad' the best, 9 (6.7%) 'shejak-skad', 9 (6.7%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, Hindi and English', 6 (4.5%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad and Chinese', 5 (3.7%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad, Hindi and English'; with a further 23 other categories ranging in size from 4 informants (3%) to 1 (0.7%).

In the India category, with a total of 293 informants;

- 67 (22.9%) stated that they spoke 'shejak-skad' the best, 50 (17.1%) 'shejak-skad, English and Hindi', 31 (10.6%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad, shejak-skad, English and Hindi', 28 (9.6%) 'dbus-gtsang-skad', 23 (7.8%) 'shejak-skad and Hindi'; with a further 38 other categories ranging in size from 19 informants (6.5%) to 1 informant (0.3%).

Figure 6.12 QS informant responses regarding which linguistic and Tibetic varieties they spoke best categorised by place of birth

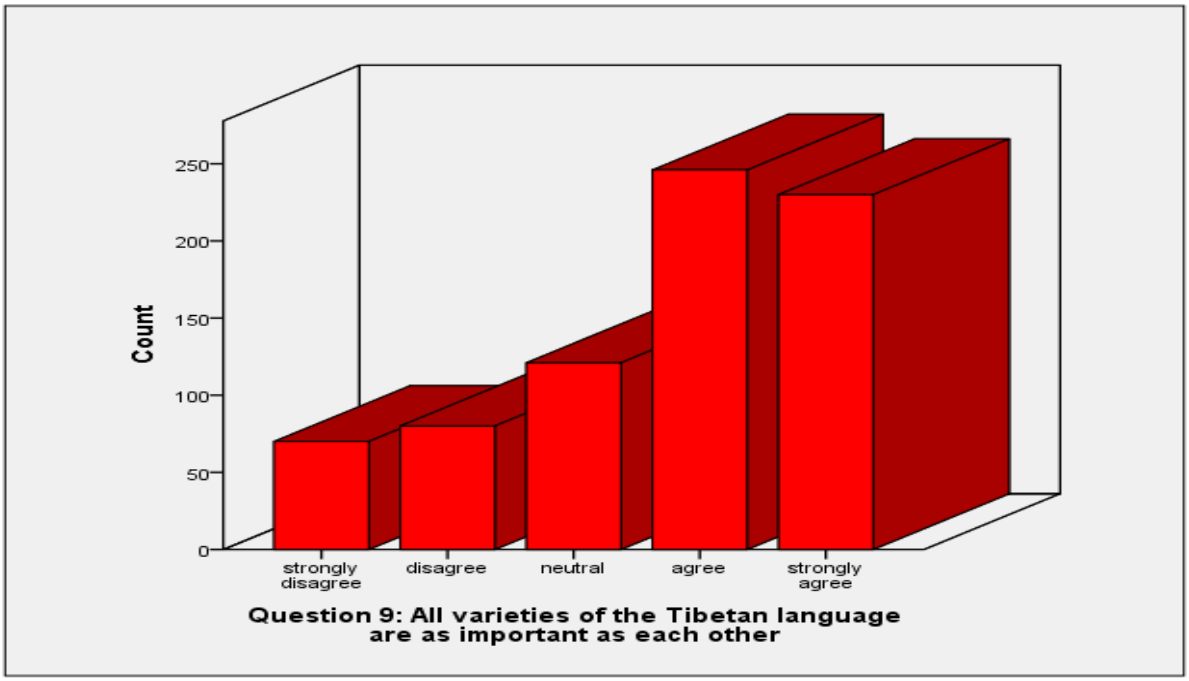


6.4.2 The status of the multiple Tibetic variety model

In question 9 informants were asked to state their agreement or disagreement to the statement 'All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other'. This question was designed to elicit attitudinal responses, not specifically regarding the Tibetic varieties that the informants spoke themselves but on the multiple Tibetic model in general including all possible variants, whether in the informants' repertoires or not.

Of a total of 801 QS informants 54 chose not to fill in this aspect of the questionnaire. 70 informants (8.7%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 80 (10%) disagreed, 121 (15.1%) were neutral, 246 (30.7%) agreed and 230 (28.7%) strongly agreed. Therefore, in total 150 informants (18.7%) expressed a negative sentiment to the statement and 476 informants (59.4%) expressed a positive sentiment to the statement.

Figure 6.13 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other'



6.4.2.1 The status of the multiple Tibetic variety model categorised using the place of birth variable

Figure 6.14 depicts the results from QS question nine, categorised using the place of birth variable in an eyeball judgement form. In the Amdo category, with a total of 86 informants;

- 12 (14%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 13 (15.1%) disagreed, 15 (17.4%) were neutral, 24 (27.9%) agreed and 22 (25.6%) strongly agreed.

In the Kham category, with a total of 212 informants;

- 24 (11.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 18 (8.5%) disagreed, 33 (15.6%) were neutral, 63 (29.7%) agreed and 74 (34.9%) strongly agreed.

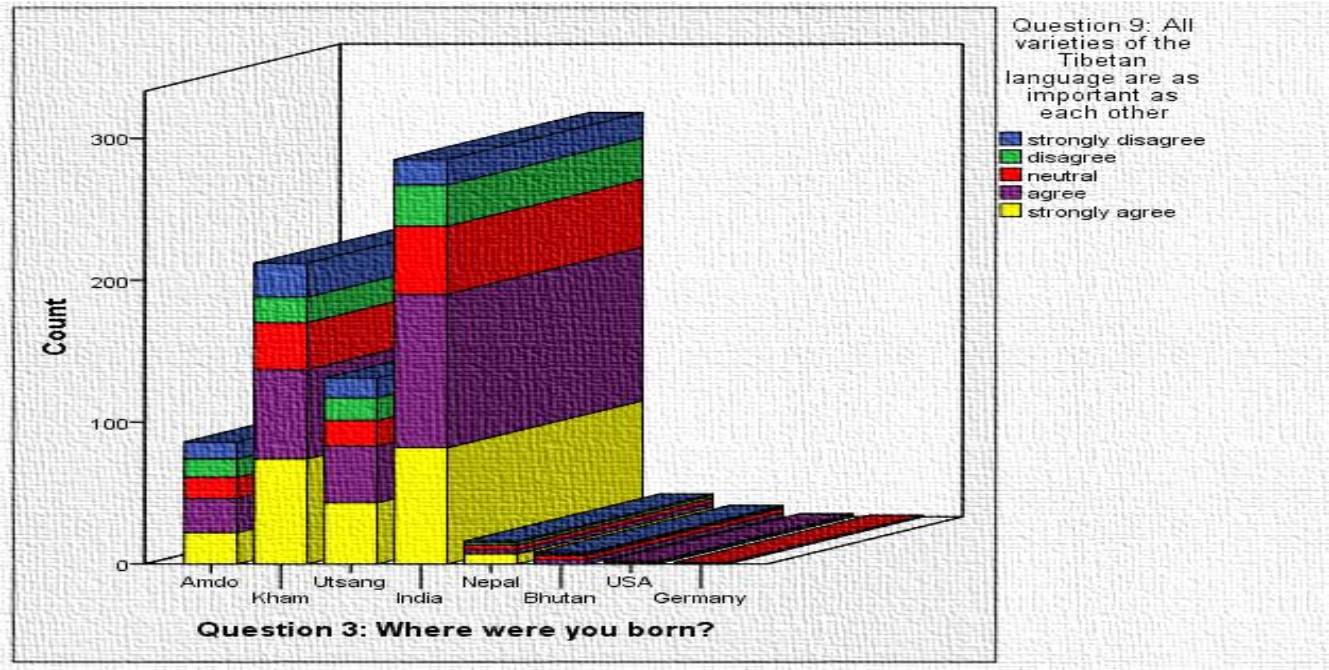
In the Utsang category, with a total of 131 informants;

- 14 (10.7%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 16 (12.2%) disagreed, 18 (13.7%) were neutral, 40 (30.5%) agreed and 43 (32.8%) strongly agreed.

In the India category, with a total of 285 informants;

- 18 (6.3%) stated that they strongly disagreed, 29 (10.2%) disagreed, 48 (15.9%) were neutral, 108 (37.9%) agreed and 82 (28.8%) strongly agreed.

Figure 6.14 QS informant responses regarding the statement 'All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other' categorised by place of birth



6.4.2.2 Correlation analysis

Correlation tests employing Spearman's rho were conducted using the results of QS question nine and the gender, age, number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehend as variables (please see appendix 3 table A3.116). There are statistically significant correlations between QS question nine and the number of Tibetic varieties informants comprehended. The results suggest that the more Tibetic varieties informants comprehend, the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question nine. There is a statistically significant correlation between the place of birth category of Amdo informants and their responses to QS question nine. Amdo informants are statistically more likely to show disagreement with the statement in QS question nine. There are also statistically significant correlations between QS question nine and the number of Tibetic varieties Amdo and India category informants comprehended. The results suggest that

the more Tibetic varieties Amdo and India category informants comprehend, the more likely they are to state agreement to QS question nine.

6.4.3 The status of Tibetic varieties expressed by interview informants

Informant 1 expressed a commonly held opinion that 'all [Tibetan varieties were as] important as each other'. Informant 6 expressed the notion of a shared status among Tibetic varieties by stating that 'it's all the same, I can't recognise which is more important'. Informant 4 articulated the view that all Tibetic varieties were important, but that 'it's important to use your hometown-speak, this is an important part of Tibetan culture, it's natural to speak your local language'. Informant 8, from Utsang, reported having a positive attitude to all Tibetic varieties, and made the point the dbus-gtsang-skad was not the most important Tibetic variety. She stated that foreigners wanted to learn dbus-gtsang-skad, which she felt assigned inappropriate status to it.

Shejak Informant 17 expressed the concept that intra Tibetan regional identities were defined by Tibetic varieties. She stated that she thought that the Shejak variety was not as pure as other Tibetic varieties, but conversely that she thought it was equal in terms of importance. Informant 19 believed that 'all [Tibetic varieties are] important but maybe some of them much more'. He differentiated between Shejak varieties, associating 'bad grammar' with the mixing of Tibetan with Hindi and Nepali. He defined shejak-skad as 'ra-ma-luk-skad'. Informant 18 stated that she thought all Tibetic varieties were important but when I asked about shejak-skad she said she thought that it was 'not good' and 'not useful'. She described Shejaks as using an 'outside country language' and justified her opinion by reasoning that the Shejak population was 'very small'. Informant 40 expressed the notion that Shejak derived its status from dbus-gtsang-skad, as Utsang was its main component despite mixing with Hindi.

Informant 7 was asked if she had an obligation to speak pure Shejak, to which she replied, 'Yeah I sometimes try not to mix'. Informant 9 identified shejak-skad as being less important than lhasa-skad, but did state that speaking Tibetan was important. Informant 6 from Kham was asked if he thought khams-skad was more important than shejak-skad, to which he replied, 'I think that in exile khams-skad is more important because people use dbus-gtsang-skad, and there are more Sanjos than Shejaks'.

Shejak Informant 13 also responded by initially stating that she thought all Tibetic varieties were as important as each other, but then responded in the negative when asked if she thought shejak-skad was as important as dbus-gtsang-skad. She talked about how after leaving school and starting work, she had tried to stop speaking shejak-skad and speak more "proper Tibetan". She also stated that she did not associate the Shejak variety of Tibetan she spoke with her identity, saying that the new arrivals came up with the name 'Shejak' in response to 'Sanjo'. She said 'I try to speak pure Tibetan around my child.' When asked if shejak-skad was useful for certain topics she replied, 'no, not even gossip'.

Informant 24 thought that shejak-skad and lhasa-skad were of equal importance, but informant 25 thought lhasa-skad was more important, informant 39 believed that a-mdo-skad was more important than shejak-skad. Informant 52 thought all Tibetic varieties were as important as each other. He affirmed that shejak-skad was Tibetan but said that he thought the situation was different. He put the onus on Sanjos to speak 'pure Tibetan', saying that 'we are coming from Tibet we are pure if we mix speak it is bad I think'. He then made the point that because of the large numbers of Chinese people there were now in Tibet, many Tibetans were mixing Tibetan and Chinese, and that only in the Tibetan villages was the Tibetan language pure.

Seven of the informants interviewed reported they thought dbus-gtsang-skad was the most important Tibetic variety. Informant 41 stated that he thought dbus-gtsang-skad was the most important Tibetic variety, as he believed it to be the lingua franca in Tibet and Khampas and Amdowas needed it to communicate with each other. Informant 45 saw dbus-gtsang-skad as being the most important because he thought it was the purest variety of the Tibetan language. Informant 56 believed that dbus-gtsang-skad derived its status from its association with the capital city of Tibet, 'since Lhasa is the capital city of Tibet and Tibetan people in Lhasa use dbus-gtsang-skad we should use dbus-gtsang-skad'; yet he elaborates 'in Lhasa when people speak they are very polite to each other even, they use lots of honorifics when talking with each other and sometimes they are so polite maybe I get annoyed'.

Informant 21 emphasised the association between culture and language, stating that 'if the language disappears then the culture disappears'. Informant 24 shared a similar view, stating that 'all varieties are as important as each other, all varieties are alive, keeping all are important'. Informant 28 proposed the notion that through the concept of a polynomic language situation, mutual intelligibility was a considerable factor regarding status: 'yes I think it's important, especially when we communicate with each other we should understand each other, if we don't understand then how to communicate, so it's important to, you know, to, to, to know this kind of way'. Informant 22 recognised that the Kham, Utsang and Amdo accents were as important as each other, while informant 36 expressed the view that all Tibetic varieties were as important as each other. When I enquired why she thought this, she stated 'if someone from Kham asked a question to Utsang or Amdo and we don't know what he is saying [it's not good], so it's better to learn all the languages'.

6.4.4 The status of the multiple Tibetic variety model expressed by interview informants

Informant 2 believed that if all Tibetans could understand one Tibetic variety it would be beneficial but thought that it was not a realistic model at this stage, as education was 'not good'. Informant 35 stated that he thought it was a good idea, 'so any Tibetan can understand any Tibetan from any part of Tibet that would be great'. He stated that he thought a model based on the Putonghua standardised Chinese form would be beneficial: 'they can speak their Tibetan but there was a common language Tibetan they could learn in school'. Informant 45 stated a preference for a standardised Tibetic variety: 'in Yushu I speak khams-skad, I go to outside I use dbus-gtsang-skad, like Chinese Putonghua, we can use khams-skad but dbus-gtsang-skad like Putonghua'.

Informant 10 stated 'actually generally different village has different speaking', 'united speak is dbus-gtsang-skad, but important is keep about village speaking, because if he live in Kham he knows about dbus-gtsang-skad but he should use khams-skad, because most village is different speaking but they can't exactly speak language so it's a little bit of a problem'.

Informant 18 stated that, 'I think that if you speak one language then we have no loyalty to small, small groups, some people doing loyalty they Kham and Utsang, so if we have one language we preserve it, this unity'. Informant 22 agreed that it would be beneficial if all Tibetans spoke one variety. Asked whether the Tibetan government in exile were to enforce a rule which stated that all Tibetans should speak khams-skad and not dbus-gtsang-skad or a-mdo-skad, would he think that that was acceptable he replied, 'yes I agree with [that] cause the country is Tibet not Chinese, not English, not another language'. I then asked him if he thought it would be acceptable if shejak-skad were to be the unifying Tibetic variety, to which he replied, 'it's okay, I agree, if they say Chinese I don't agree, as long as it's

Tibetan'. Informant 31 agreed with the opinion of informant 22 on this matter, stating that 'there is only one Tibetan culture, it would be a benefit if we spoke one Tibetan variety'.

Informant 6 expresses the belief that the Amdo and Kham cultures are different from that of Utsang and that if Amdowas and Khampas spoke dbus-gtsang-skad then 'they culture is lost'. Many of the informants expressed the opinion that speaking one Tibetic variety would not be a benefit for Tibetan culture. Informant 8 stated 'no, I think if Tibetan culture, if all Tibetans speak just one variety of Tibetan it is not accept because we speak and we can learn all Tibetan speak, so we can learn, it is good, then only just one variety learn then it is a little bit low'. Informant 13 stated that 'no, compared to India Tibet does not have a rich culture, therefore we must preserve it'. Informant 17 shared a similar idea: 'in India there are many different regions as with Tibet', 'different varieties of speaking is nature'.

Informant 28 stated that, 'it's unacceptable for the Tibetan people to do like this right but er I think there's, I don't think it depends on benefit or not, the most important is to, you know, to carry on with our Tibetan language and do study our own Tibetan language, I don't think it makes a big difference whether we speak only one variety of the Tibetan language or doesn't matter if we speak three accent, the main purpose is to er, we inside Tibet can understand each other and that, what we need is to understand and you know it's really, it's also hard to accept you know if we say tomorrow we have to speak only Utsang or Amdo or Kham, it's very difficult and also I can say it's impossible', 'since actually we say we have 6 million Tibetans but I'm not sure, we normally say like this, so I think it's quite difficult too and also the people who came to India we can understand each other, from Kham and Amdo and Utsang we can understand each other but inside Tibet the people live separately when they come together I think they don't understand each other'.

Informant 29 emphasised that 'Amdo and Kham and Utsang speak is very important'. Informant 34 stated that 'if I forget my speak it's not good. Why did you forget your mother tongue? If I'm Amdo I should speak in Amdo, if I'm from Kham I should speak in Kham'. Informant 42 stated that, 'no I don't think it will benefit, cause Tibetan we have like 3 main provinces so they are all different variety, Amdo and Kham and Utsang, Shejak I don't think it's good. Shejak-skad is not that important, Utsang and Amdo and Kham is, when we know Utsang very well it's most important I think, other two Kham and Amdo when we in Tibet we use to speak Amdo and Kham, those we will learn'. Informant 7 stated 'no I don't think so, because it's not important to speak one language for example like, it's like unity in diversity you know'.

6.4.5 Interview informants' opinions on the status of the Tibetan language in Tibet

Several informants expressed the opinion that the Tibetan language was being destroyed in Tibet, but that there were aspects of improvement through catalysts such as Tibetan intellectuals, educated people, students and monks. Informant 1 gave examples of vocabulary where previously Tibetans would use borrowing words from Chinese such as phone [电话; pinyin; *dian hua*] where now Tibetans in Tibet would use the Tibetan word ཁ་བར། [*kapar*]. Informant 30 believed that the Tibetan language was improving a little, and whereas before he would mix Chinese and Tibetan 'now most things' names are Tibetan'. Informant 2 agreed that the language situation in Tibet was 'poor', giving the example of how now Tibetan nomads have been relocated to cities where there is a large population of Chinese. He explains that these Tibetans have a problem with filling out bank forms because they do not know how to read Chinese. Informant 5 stated that he believed 70% of Tibetans from his

village did not know how to speak Chinese. Asked how many Chinese he thought spoke Tibetan, he replied, ‘I was in Tibet a long time ago but then many Chinese spoke Tibetan but the number is decreasing, Chinese Muslims spoke Tibetan, they have a saying, ‘Chinese sing Tibetan songs’’.

Informant 6 stated, ‘it is very, very dangerous in this time’, ‘every day the Chinese control the Tibetan language, disturb the Tibetan language’. He believes that most teachers now come from China, but that lamas teach children Tibetan and build schools. Informant 56 stated ‘right now it’s a big problem cause of the Chinese government, it’s the aim of the Chinese government to destroy the Tibetan language, culture and tradition’. Informant 18 stated ‘in Tibet the language situation is very poor, we have no right to learn our language, cause when I was in middle school in Tibet the Chinese government decrease our Tibetan period in a week, we only have one period [one hour] in a week’. Informant 19 also expressed a view that the Chinese were ‘brainwashing’ the Tibetan children, ‘newcomers from Tibet my age or similar are used to speaking Chinese, sometimes it irritate us but can’t say anything cause they are problem with that situation, it depends on maybe their luck or their karma’.

Informant 28 stated ‘in the city and rural is quite different, those people who stay in the city deal with Chinese, they have more chance to speak Chinese, in rural country actually they can speak Chinese, but when they speak Tibetan, you know, when they speak in the family or, you know, neighbour they really use Tibetan language, it’s very rare to mix Tibetan and Chinese’. I asked her about what Tibetans thought about speaking Chinese in Tibet: ‘when I was in Tibet I really don’t know about our own situation, about the Tibetan situation, I know that his holiness escaped from Tibet’. She talked about her grandparents, saying ‘they never worry about it [speaking Chinese], normally when I was in Tibet they didn’t worry about it.

Chinese did a lot, but nowadays they do worry about it. If we don't know something about it then we don't worry about it'.

Informant 45 stated 'I don't know, at school we just speak Chinese, if you're from Amdo or Kham we just speak Chinese'. Informant 53 stated that, 'I think new generation are more used to Chinese language, 2008 people from Kham and Amdo, it's a fashion to listen to Tibetan songs, 2008 they might know Tibet is different from China. When I call my parents and younger sis, I have two young sis, she tells me the phone number in Chinese, 'please speak in Tibetan', my mum says numbers in Tibetan'.

Informant 54 stated that, 'compared with Dasa it's better in Tibet cause when new things come to the market they can use new terms instead of English'. Informant 35 stated that, 'I think that actually the language situation in Tibet is er, er, er, ummh what shall I say that, it's in a good shape actually as compared to the Tibetan language in exile, cause I think it's important that we speak a Tibetan and stuff like that but language all around the world survive by absorbing all different terms like English did it from Greek, Hindi they did it by having a lot of English terms, even the Chinese did it by having a lot of Japanese terms for the scientific names and stuff you know, speaking pure language is important but then if we are very stubborn and hard minded we have to speak pure language and then it's easier for us to say TV, everyone says TV, we have to give them Tibetan names like *loklaspa* like three words, it's difficult to use this kind of language won't survive. It won't be a people's language commonly used by people and that's where the cradle of this language is right in order to survive, so I think there is no problem with absorbing more and different terms as long as you keep the essence of the Tibetan language'.

Informant 10 believed that the Tibetan language situation in Tibetan was good, and even though Tibetans spoke Chinese he believed that they never spoke it with each other because

they were ‘shy’. Informant 16 stated that, ‘in 100 people 70 use Chinese language, but I think most use Chinese vocab, but they don’t have enough to speak the Chinese language’. Informant 48 stated that, ‘same as in exile, use Chinese, many Chinese in Lhasa, near the border are losing Tibetan, in home Tibetan, go out the door Chinese speak’, ‘Tibetan language nearly died’. Informant 50 stated that, ‘people more use Chinese cause there’s more Chinese, some can’t speak pure Tibetan’. Informant 55 stated that ‘it’s good but it’s under the restriction. Tibet language in Tibet really, really struggle, and many people especially the monastic institution are giving so much basic tuition to the Tibetan kids in Tibet’, ‘I can feel now Tibetans are aware of the language, so that is really good sort of signs’.

6.5 Summary of results

VGT data results suggest that the Utsang voice was perceived as having the most status regarding cognitive traits, yet the three other voices were assigned cognitive trait status. Conversely the Kham and Shejak voices also received stigmatising cognitive labels. Correlation analysis results suggest that Cholka-sum informants were inclined to stigmatise the Shejak voice and assign status to Cholka-sum voices from different place of birth categories to their own.

The Kham and Utsang voices were perceived as having the most status regarding trust traits. Conversely the Shejak voice received stigmatising trust labels. However Shejak informants stigmatised Cholka-sum voices. Correlation analysis results suggest that Cholka-sum informants assigned status and stigmatising trust labels to Cholka-sum voices from different place of birth categories to their own.

The Utsang voice was perceived as having the most status regarding manners traits, while the Kham and Utsang voices were the most respectful. Conversely the Amdo, Kham and Shejak voices received stigmatising manners labels. Correlation analysis results suggest that all informants were inclined to assign status and stigmatisation to the other voices regarding the manners traits.

The Shejak voice was perceived as having the most status regarding attainment traits, yet Amdo and Kham voices were assigned hardworking trait status. Conversely all voices received stigmatising attainment labels. Correlation analysis results suggest that informants were inclined to stigmatise the voices not associated with their place of birth categories.

The Amdo, Kham and Shejak voices were perceived as having the most status regarding affability traits, yet conversely all voices were also stigmatised. Correlation analysis results suggest that Kham and Amdo informants were inclined to assign affability status to other place of birth voice, particularly each other, while Utsang and Shejak informants were inclined to stigmatise the other voices particularly the Amdo and Kham voices.

Therefore the data suggest that informants' assigned cultural value to the particular Tibetic variety they spoke most associated with their place of birth identity construct regarding both solidarity and status traits, yet also assigned positive traits to other Tibetic varieties. Conversely, informants were also likely to stigmatise other Tibetic varieties indicating a paradox where Tibetic varieties were assigned positive and negative traits. This in turn allowed for the suggestion that this indicating the concept of 'otherness in sameness/unity in diversity' which interview informants had indicated best described the relationship among members of the various intra-Tibetan identity construct groups. There was a particular emphasis on informants from Tibet stigmatising the Shejak voice in the VGT regarding the solidarity traits of trust and affability, and also respect. These informant views expressed

negative trait association to the Shejak Tibetan voice and identity construct yet the interview results clearly suggest that criticism of diasporic Tibetans by Tibetans from Tibet did not result in the desire to marginalise any intra-Tibetan group from the diaspora and vice-versa with diasporic Tibetans not marginalising intra-Tibetan groups from the perceived sino-influnced Tibet.

Shejak and Utsang Tibetan were differentiated by informants using the concept of purity. 70.8% of QS informants disagreed that Shejak Tibetan was the purest Tibetic variety while 54.3% of QS informants agreed that Utsang Tibetan spoken by people from Tibet was the purest Tibetic variety. However, statistical correlation analysis suggests that Amdo informants are more inclined to disagree. Typically interview informants reported that dbus-skad or Lhasa-skad was the purest form of the Tibetan language. Many of the informants expressed the notion that Tibetan varieties from Tibet were pure, but mixing a Tibetic variety even with another Tibetic variety polluted the language.

Utsang and Shejak were identified as useful (positive) by interview informants, yet the general consensus of opinion was that TDD members should acquire multiple Tibetic variety speech repertoire. The majority of QS informants (44.8%) disagree that Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn shejak-skad. Statistical correlation analysis suggests that Utsang informants are more inclined to disagree and India category informants are more inclined to agree. The majority of QS informants (60.4%) also disagree that people who speak dbus-gtsang-skad do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language. Statistical correlation analysis suggests that Amdo and Kham informants are more inclined to disagree and India category informants are more inclined to agree. However, the results in this chapter suggest that informants reject the notion of having one standardised Tibetic variety in the TDD as 69.9% of QS informants disagree that they only need to know one variety of the

Tibetan language. Statistical correlation analysis suggests that Kham informants are more inclined to disagree and India category informants are more inclined to agree.

All QS informants reported speaking the Tibetic variety most associated with their place of birth the best including India category informants stating Shejak-skad, which suggest that they assign status to these Tibetic varieties in addition to notions of ability. The majority of QS informants (59.4%) agree that all varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other. Statistical correlation analysis suggests that Amdo informants are more inclined to disagree that all varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other. Some interview informants expressed the view that while all Tibetic varieties were important, some were more important. This perhaps implies that those Tibetic varieties which mix with others or borrow from others are corrupted. Mixing linguistic varieties, even mixing Tibetic varieties, was stigmatised in the TDD as it was seen as important to preserve Tibetan culture.

6.6 Chapter summary

This chapter uses the data from all three data collection techniques to report on informant's language attitudes focusing on issues of cognitive, trust, manners, attainment and affability trait status of Tibetic varieties in addition to Tibetic variety purity and utility, and attitudes towards the multiple Tibetic variety model in its entirety. An understanding of the concept of the multiple Tibetic variety situation and the Tibetic polynomic situation in the TDD was developed throughout this chapter.

Therefore the data suggest that informants' assigned cultural value on the particular Tibetic variety they spoke most associated with their place of birth identity construct regarding both solidarity and status traits, yet also assigned positive traits to other Tibetic varieties. The vast

majority of QS informants (70.8%) disagree that Shejak is the purest Tibetic variety, yet agreed (54.3%) that dbus-gtsang-shad spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan.

Informants reported favouring a multiple Tibetic variety model in the TDD allowing the cultural value of a particular Tibetic variety to validate its usage without regard for assignment of low status due to a particularly small number of speakers or possible perceived notions of imposition on other Tibetic varieties. 60.4% of QS informants believing Utsang Tibetan speakers should still acquire spoken ability in other Tibetic varieties, while 59.4% believed all Tibetic varieties were of equal importance, and 69.9% of QS informants believe that TDD members need to have multiple Tibetic variety repertoires.

Chapter 7: Discussion, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter draws on the results and analysis undertaken in the previous three chapters, combining the outcomes of those chapters and developing the themes raised by the key results. The themes in this chapter are structured in a similar manner to the three previous chapters in that the subject matter is primarily divided into three sections associated with identity, speech practices and language attitudes, yet each section contains sub-sections which attempt to define the associations between these three concepts.

Section 7.1 presents a review of the research questions and a summary of the conclusions. Section 7.2 discusses the linguistic circumstances of the TDD focusing on the reported performance and comprehension of linguistic and Tibetic repertoires in the TDD. Section 7.3 discusses the language attitude data, focusing on how informants perceived certain linguistic varieties in the TDD and the multiple Tibetic variety model. Section 7.4 discusses the concepts of the research concerning primarily the themes associated with the identity constructs of the informants and the saliency of the place of birth variable. Finally, section 7.5 discusses the limitations of the research and section 7.6 makes recommendations for future research.

7.1 Reviewing the research questions

In this section the reader is reminded of the four research questions in advance of an analysis of the results that were produced and the execution of the research. The following sub-section details a summary of the conclusions of the research and thereby form the basis of the content

of the topics under discussion in this chapter. It is also worth specifically remaining the reader that while not stated as a research question yet considered of particular importance to the subject matter, and associated with the second question, the research set out to identify if the TDD constituted as a polynomic language situation.

The summary conclusions in section 7.1.1 relate to multiple research questions and it was the interconnected-ness to multiple research questions which underlined their saliency.

The research questions:

1. What are the linguistic repertoires and speech practices of members of the TDD?

2. How is intelligibility among Tibetic variety speakers reported?

3. What are the identity constructs of the members of the TDD?

4. Do Tibetic varieties in the TDD experience a paradoxical existence of status and stigmatisation that enables members of the TDD to react both favourably and unfavourably to these varieties?

The execution of the research over a period of a year's fieldwork allow for adequate sample sizes and various and in-depth data collection techniques to be applied. In conjunction with the application of controlled and rigorous procedures and analysis the claim that each of the four research questions were answered to a satisfactory degree can be asserted. Nevertheless, there are several aspects which governed how the data was collected and analysed as well as certain dynamics within the TDD what may have impacted upon informant responses. A salient directive of the research emphasised openness in the direct elicitation of responses. This method was employed in an attempt to capture varied and multiple responses to informants' speech practices, linguistic repertoires and identity constructs. However this

technique impacted on the research in two particular ways in connection with the self-reporting nature of the responses.

Firstly, it could be argued that in terms of identity construction only the salient diasporic cultural themes of Tibetan and intra-Tibetan identities were elicited. The informant-led approach of the research dictated that these responses were authentic and therefore valid, however no attempt was made to establish alternative enquires regarding other aspects of informants' identity constructs which must have existed. For example the impact of informants' religion and the allegiances to a particular sect no doubt defined informants to some degree however while Buddhism is assumed and perhaps implicit in informants' elicitations, perhaps it could be argued that sectarian issues may have been repressed. Either way these aspects of implication and repression were not explored in any great detail.

Another example that may have presented an alternate perspective was that of the issue of gender in the diaspora regarding identity. Shejak Tibetans in this research were assigned 'westernised' identity constructs; therefore it may have been interesting to explore how diasporic gender roles impacted on language attitudes. While it may have been of some benefit to establish if female informants imbued a conservativism regarding certain social issues particularly concerning language attitudes the narratives may also have been inexplicably linked or indiscernible from alternative motivations such as a westernised "empowerment" regarding the politicisation of gender in a nationalist context. The complexity of these issues allows the research to justify such absences and account for the adequacy of the data as a key objective was to establish the existence of salient TDD members' identity constructs at an academic level as the knowledge on this subject was identified as insufficient.

Secondly, regarding the self-reporting nature of the QS and informant repertoires there is an absence of levels of ability. The justification for not asking informants to rate their linguistic abilities focuses on the idea that such an enquiry cannot be identified as producing reliable, consistent data. While the self-reporting nature may indeed produce a certain degree of inaccuracy, bias and over reporting of prestigious linguistic varieties the QS was designed in such a way where several question results could be cross checked as well as the relevant data triangulated with the interviews and VGT. The uniformity of results allows the research to suggest that the linguistic and Tibetic varieties reported are representative of the repertoires in the TDD, and in particular the comparison between performance and comprehension of linguistic varieties such as English and Hindi compared with the Tibetic varieties allows the research to suggest the polynomic circumstances of the TDD. However it is essential to interpret the linguistic data as being free from measures of level of ability.

While perhaps collecting data on these research questions may appear straightforward enough the research sought to establish how, if at all, the elements of linguistic practices particularly regarding Tibetic varieties, language attitudes and identity constructs impacted upon and influenced each other. Trends in the QS indicated strong associations between a particular variety and those informants from the associated place of birth category. This association was then confirmed during the interview stage. It was particularly significant that in a diasporic culture that hyper-valued a concept of unity and a superficial mono-culture of the 'Tibetan national' that intra-group allegiances were not only expressed so intensely but also as expressions of Tibetanness.

7.1.1 Summary of conclusions

The research produced three salient conclusions specifically associated with the first two research questions focusing upon informant reported linguistic repertoires, speech practices and intelligibility among Tibetic varieties. Firstly, the results suggest that informants have multiple Tibetic repertoires but also there is evidence to suggest a polynomic language situation exists in the TDD. Secondly, there was evidence to suggest that informants from Tibet and the diaspora acquire and develop Tibetic varieties which are amalgamations of numerous Tibetic varieties. Therefore the research concludes that the multiple Tibetic variety model is a multifaceted construct accessible to TDD members through their linguistic repertoires which provides opportunities to develop performance and comprehension in other Tibetic varieties through communication. Thirdly, while the research identifies numerous Tibetic varieties in the TDD the multiple Tibetic variety model presented is one that incorporates the concepts of a diglossic intersecting that allows for any number of Tibetic varieties using any number of combinations to be present.

Two summary conclusions related specifically to the third research question regarding informants' identity are made. Firstly, informants express strong associations to both regional and pan-Tibetan identity constructs which allow for the validation and acceptance of all non-diasporic and diasporic intra-Tibetan group identities. Secondly, the diasporic Shejak identity construct is a salient feature of the TDD which allows for the conception of an intra-Tibetan identity construct model which validates this construct and the Cholka-sum identity constructs by forming a Cholka-shi model.

Two summary conclusions regarding the enquiry into linguistic practices and identity associated with the first three research questions are made. Firstly, Tibetic varieties are markers for intra-Tibetan group identity which indicates retention of a particular Tibetic

variety and the development of a multiple Tibetic variety model which suggests informants are likely to develop multiple Tibetic repertoires and increased abilities in multiple Tibetic variety comprehension. Secondly, a shift to a standardised variety appears to be overruled by the multiple Tibetic variety model. Therefore the research concludes that any maintenance model incorporate a development of the multiple-Tibetic variety model and facilitate the development of increased comprehension abilities acknowledging the Cholka-shi model which validates intra-Tibetan identities through recognition.

Data associated with the first research question enquiring of linguistic practices was contextualised with data produced by the third and fourth research questions (identity and language attitudinal results) to produce two summary conclusions. Firstly, as Tibetic varieties are integral to intra-Tibetan group identity the Shejak varieties spoken by Shejak Tibetans are distinct entities. Most notably, the Shejak Tibetan spoken by Shejak speakers differed from a Shejak Tibetan spoken by Tibetans from Tibet through the awareness of the Shejak identity construct and the increased usage of English and Hindi. Secondly, speakers of all four of the major Tibetic varieties present in the TDD (Cholka-shi model) are assigned both prestige and stigmatisation of both status and solidarity traits. In particular the Shejak variety was associated with attainment and educational status traits yet that variety was also stigmatised as impure. Conversely the Sanjo varieties, particularly the Amdo and Kham varieties, were assigned high rates of solidarity and stigmatised regarding status traits yet were also assigned status as pure Tibetic varieties and therefore of value. Finally the last summary conclusion relates to the contextualisation of the data produced by the third and fourth research questions and states that the pan-Tibetan identity constructs and intra-Tibetan identity constructs function in a symbiotic relationship with each able to facilitate the assignment of value for the other.

7.2 The linguistic circumstances of the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The QS results indicate that the TDD is a multilingual speech community (80.6% of QS informants self-reported as multilingual speakers). The research is limited by the constraints of the self-reported nature of QS data, however as India category informants report speaking more languages than the other major place of birth groups the research suggests that being born into the diaspora facilitates acquiring more languages than in Tibet. In the Kham category 30% reported having a monolingual Tibetan repertoire, 29.3% in the Amdo category, 23.5% in the Utsang and 8.1% in the India category. This would support Tournadre's (2003) assertion that the majority of Tibetans in Tibet are monolingual speakers especially as the majority of multilingual speakers report Tibetan, Hindi and English in their repertoires. Almost a fifth of informants reported speaking Chinese. It is feasible that there may be a reluctance for informants to report Chinese in their repertoire. Interview informants did not stigmatise the Chinese language, but did express frustration at friends or family members in the PRC mixing Tibetan with Chinese.

One particularly salient feature of these results is that while the data suggest that the TDD is a multilingual setting a large number of Tibet born informants report the single linguistic repertoire of Tibetan. In contrast, India-born informants report typically speaking Tibetan, English and Hindi. The fact that Tibetan was reported by informants as universal within the TDD allows for the supposition that having a single Tibetan repertoire does not necessarily create a linguistic barrier when communicating with Tibetans. Conversely, regardless of ability the data suggest that the TDD provides opportunity for TDD members born in Tibet and India to acquire Hindi and English.

In contrast to the data on linguistic varieties Sanjo informants, particularly those from Kham and Amdo, reported speaking more Tibetic varieties than those informants born in India. All

place of birth categories feature significantly large numbers of informants speaking only the Tibetic variety most associated with their place of birth category. While Utsang and India category informants report having large groups of both single and multiple Tibetic variety speakers, the Kham and Amdo informant categories hold significantly more multiple Tibetic variety speakers. Nonetheless the trends reported by informants are similar for each place of birth category in regards to how single Tibetic variety repertoires and repertoires with dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad are reported. Furthermore, the data suggest that informants from Tibet are most likely to report having non-regional associated Tibetic varieties in their repertoires compared with India-born informants, and that informants differentiate the Utsang and Shejak varieties.

Ostensibly, Shejak Tibetan was perceived as a variety of Tibetan associated with and spoken by the diasporic Shejak Tibetan intra-group. Interview informants would express the notion that speaking one Tibetic variety was problematic and explicitly associated a mono-Tibetic repertoire with Shejak speakers, or rather Shejak Tibetans. Interview informants from Tibet often reported mixing all three Cholka-sum varieties and were reluctant to explicitly state speaking Shejak Tibetan, yet the QS data present contrasting results with 19.9% of Kham informants, 13.8% of Amdo informants and 10% of Utsang informants reporting a Cholka-shi[48] Tibetic repertoire, and 17.7% of Kham informants and 24.5% of Amdo informants reporting a Tibetic repertoire of dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad plus associated regional Tibetic variety.

Therefore, it is conceivable that Shejak Tibetan has a multiple dimension feature which allows the shejak-skad label to be applied to variants of Tibetan or speech practices which are perceived to be different from the speakers' Cholka-sum regional Tibetic variety. In the

[48] Cholka-shi; shi is four in Tibetan. Cholka-sum is are the three traditional regions of Tibet, therefore Cholka-shi is those three regional intra-Tibetan groups plus the diasporic Shejak intra-Tibetan group.

interview data Sanjo Tibetans were often assigned the ability to speak shejak-skad but with the caveat that it was not really shejak-skad, but a Cholka-sum-multiple-Tibetic variety amalgamation which could be simplified for universal communication in the TDD. An identifying marker of difference between amalgamated Sanjo three-province Tibetan variants and shejak-skad was that the Shejak Tibetans who spoke shejak-skad used 'bad grammar'. The linguistic boundaries of these Tibetic varieties are created by an awareness of difference due to the implication of mixing and impurity associated with the Shejak variety.

A significant theme of the research has been identifying a duality of conflicting concepts in identity and language attitudes. TDD members are aware of having multiple identities of pan-Tibetan and intra-group Tibetan constructs, and the research indicates that TDD members also assign both prestige and stigmatisation regarding both status and solidarity to all Cholka-shi voices. This theme recurs with informants categorising their Tibetic repertoires into multiple ones, with salient linguistic boundaries signifying a motivation to define their Tibetic repertoires in terms of both linguistic convergence and divergence. Further research might emphasise a particular diglossic circumstance, register use or instance of linguistic accommodation based on mass and mutual borrowing, or perhaps it could be revealed that Cholka-sum informants over-emphasise Cholka-sum variety usage. While these concepts may indeed be valid, this research proposes that any further explanation must be a holistic one in conjunction with the particular dynamics of the multiple Tibetic model proposed in this research, which essentially focuses on the validation of a socio-cultural perception.

Contemporary linguistic typology (Niedzielski and Preston 2003) recognises informant categorisations or concepts such as the influence of an affective dimension. Nonetheless it is beneficial to explicitly state that there is no ulterior motivation to categorise these Tibetic varieties in these contexts for the purpose of appeasement to informants or particular groups in the TDD, or for utilising the topic as a vehicle to attempt to empower the Tibetan diasporic

community. Rather, it was perceived of the utmost importance to employ the informant-led perspective as this approach focuses on an integral element of the realisation of socio-cultural phenomena: the perception of the informant. Nevertheless, that is not to assume social items are not defined by any other perception than a social one. Bourdieu (2010 p287) proposed that language is itself a social artefact invented at the cost of a decisive indifference to differences which reproduces on the level of the region the arbitrary imposition of a unique norm. In the case of the TDD however the diasporic culture of preservation values difference providing it is Tibetan, and in conjunction with the homogenous pan-Tibetan diasporic culture.

A typical linguistic discourse of the Sanjo Tibetan entering into exile initially presents the mono-Tibetic variety speaking not understanding those Tibetans he/she meets, then the Utsang Tibetan and Shejak Tibetan varieties are acquired and utilised as lingua francas. However, this Tibetic contact does not equate to a linguistic shift but an instance where multiple Tibetic varieties become available to each speaker, including the continued usage of the individual's intra-Tibetan group Tibetic variety. Therefore, the perceived dominance of dbus-gtsang-skad as a "united speak" does not imply standardisation but processes of redefining and linguistic variability under the concealment of polynomy (60.5% of QS informants reported understanding more Tibetic varieties than they spoke while 50.5% stated that they could communicate in Tibetan with Tibetans who spoke another variety of Tibetan).

A particularly interesting feature of the performance compared to comprehension results was the uniformity of the responses across the place of birth categories, both in regards to Tibetic and non-Tibetic varieties (please see Tables 5.5 - 5.9 for performance compared to comprehension abilities reported by QS informants). Therefore these results in conjunction with the interview results indicate that the TDD is a polynomic Tibetic variety situation. However, QS and interview data suggest that polynomy is not comprehensive in the TDD.

Mutual unintelligibility among various Tibetic variety speakers was reported, which indicates the vast array of Tibetic varieties present in the TDD in addition to population transiency. Finally, the status assigned to dbus-gtsang-skad (as defined by informants) or 'Central' or 'Standard' Tibetan (these are approximations of similar variety classifications) advocates that the TDD is also a diglossia. Therefore, the data suggest that the TDD is multilingual with polynomic and diglossic features involving multiple Tibetic varieties with multiple levels of varying degrees of performance and comprehension ability.

Jaffe (2003) is critical of diglossia as non-standard varieties are labelled as 'Low' varieties in acts of 'misrecognition'. However, 'the ideal of polynomy requires an active interchange between equally powerful interlocutors. In this respect, it is fair to say that polynomy is itself a form of misrecognition, because it privileges a kind of linguistic equality in diversity that does not take account of the impact of language shift' (Jaffe 2003 p536). The informant-reported nature of the data means that the perception of multiple-Tibetic variety repertoires may not accurately define acts of accommodation or shift in the TDD.

7.3 The language attitudes of informants and the reported status and stigma of the Tibetic varieties

Positive language attitudes are a salient feature in TDD members' strategies in communication involving Tibetic varieties. Hymes (1971) emphasises the transmission of socio-cultural norms in language attitudes as an integral aspect of a speaker's communicative competence. The results of this research allow for the suggestion that TDD members' language attitudes are particularly linked with Tibetic variety competence. The diasporic culture of preservation valorises, or perhaps hyper-valorises, Tibetan cultural items, which

provides TDD members with the opportunity to recognise and value difference in the TDD speech community regarding Tibetic varieties.

The elicitation of language attitudes in this research incorporated issues related to informants' opinions on the prestige of purity and the stigmatisation of perceived impurity, corruption or contamination by principally English, Hindi and Chinese; informant views regarding the multiple Tibetic model and multiple and single Tibetic repertoires; comprehension of Tibetic varieties, the status of practicality of Tibetic varieties and the cultural significance of Tibetic varieties; and finally the fifteen traits from the VGT relating to the three Cholka-sum and Shejak varieties in a structure which enables direct comparisons to be made.

The primary motivation in collecting language attitude data using a variety of methods and engaging the informants on an array of themes was to enable the data to present an insight into the complexity and perceived contradictions of informants assigning any number of labels which implied and explicitly expressed both status and stigmatisation. The data produced on this topic also allowed an awareness of linguistic boundaries to be established, particularly between the Utsang and Shejak varieties, which not only validates the research's premise of differentiation between the two varieties, but also engages the unusual circumstance where those TDD members identified as Shejak are often labelled as a group elevated on the social hierarchy in the TDD, yet speak a Tibetic variety often stigmatised, while Sanjo groups, perhaps on occasion in an inversion of the Shejak group circumstances, are positioned lower than the Shejak group but perceived to have possession of varieties imbued with status.

7.3.1 Preservation and adaptation

Interview informants made numerous associations between the Tibetan language and the Tibetan culture, explicitly valuing the language and therefore disparaging the present circumstances. The Sanjo impact on the multiple Tibetic variety model, regardless of possible instances of complication, was viewed as giving the TDD a positive renewal and continued emphasis on the Tibetan language in comparison with other settlements in India. The diasporic circumstances also provided the Tibetan language with a sanctuary from the contact situation in Tibetan and the PRC, yet interview informants were aware that the diasporic circumstances also had an adverse effect on the Tibetan language. In comparison to Hindi and English, Tibetan, especially shejak-skad, was perceived to be 'mixed'. This stigma of linguistic contact possibly expressed a concern rooted in the premise that the Tibetan language and culture were being 'destroyed' in Tibet therefore the diaspora had failed to implement adequate safeguards to protect the Tibetic varieties in exile.

Interview informants reported certain circumstances in Tibet being better for Tibetan than a variety of others in the diaspora. Informant 54 believed that Tibetan should absorb other aspects of other languages while agreeing that speaking a pure language was important, but one could not be too stubborn and should adapt to the circumstances, stating that in order to survive Tibetan must be a people's common language. Generally this point was not elicited from other informants as the majority focused on the importance of Tibetan and how it represented a definitive feature of the identity of their country, culture and self. The diaspora in India and the West was perceived as the place to keep the Tibetan culture, which reflected the Shejak self-assigned status of the diasporic culture and the perceived adverse effects of the influx of Chinese migration in Tibet.

7.3.2 Usage as a status marker

The perceived ease of use or a TDD member's ease of ability to comprehend a Tibetic variety was an element associated with status. Assigning status in this manner involved emphasising a cultural prowess as well as status associated with linguistic ability. This was particularly the case for performance and comprehension in those varieties associated with the Cholka-sum constructs. The ability and the subsequent status assigned to speaking and/or comprehending multiple Tibetic varieties were associated with an emphasis on a pan-Tibetan diasporic culture of cultural inclusion. Possibly in conjunction with conflicting concepts such as the promotion and standardisation of dbus-gtsang-skad or associated varieties, the awareness of the multiple Tibetic variety model functioned to include all TDD members into the pan-Tibetan identity construct association. Dbus-gtsang-skad was perceived to be the most important Tibetic variety by seven of the interview informants, with its perceived usefulness as a lingua franca a definitive feature. Many interview informants assigned a purity trait to dbus-gtsang-skad, even imbuing the variety with more status by interchanging the term dbus-gtsang-skad with lhasa-skad, yet the purity factor was associated with an ease of comprehension as well as use of honorifics. Typically dbus-gtsang-skad or lhasa-skad was described by interview informants as 'clear', 'slow' and 'soft'.

Shejak and Sanjo interview informants emphasised the presence of English and Hindi features in shejak-skad, which in turn indicated a difference marker between shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad. These informants would indicate that because dbus-gtsang-skad was not mixed with other linguistic varieties it was easier to comprehend. One Shejak informant reported perceiving a-mdo-skad and khams-skad to be pure yet not having the ease of comprehension status of dbus-gtsang-skad. The concept of Tibetic varieties mixing was also perceived as a problem with regard to ease of comprehension. While on one hand, the contact

situation of the multiple Tibetic variety model relies on a degree of comprehension of other if not multiple Tibetic varieties, evidence from the interviews suggests that an increase in comprehension of other Tibetic varieties possibly increases the variants available in linguistic performance, which in turn, due to the multiple Tibetic varieties in the TDD, creates situations which involve Tibetic variety 'mixing' to such an extent that it has an inverse and paradoxical effect on TDD members' ability to comprehend. This introduces the concept, verbalised by a number of interview informants, of multiple Sanjo Shejak varieties spoken in the TDD. Utsang informants reported speaking an Utsang and Shejak mix, while other informants stated that there were alternative and multiple variants involving the mixing of a-mdo-skad, khams-skad, dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad.

Among other issues this raises the concept of identifying the boundaries or differences between dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad. Three Cholka-sum interview informants described shejak-skad as the most useful. It was proposed that if shejak-skad did not have vocabulary and grammar mistakes then it would be an acceptable che-skad, yet perhaps this variety would essentially be a simplified and standardised Utsang variety. Either way this concept fortifies the status of a Tibetic variety based on its ease of usage.

7.3.3 Shejak-skad versus dbus-gtsang-skad

Within the multiple Tibetic variety model, interview informants labelled shejak-skad and dbus-gtsang-skad varieties in a way that suggests overlay of these two varieties. Shejak could be referred to as 'Shejak and Utsang' or even be stated as a variety or number of varieties which consist of an amalgamation of three Cholka-sum varieties, which again suggests sanjo-shejak-skad variants in the TDD.

The shejak-skad spoken predominately by informants born in India was defined as borrowing vocabulary from English and Hindi. Shejak-skad is assigned numerous status and stigma markers. Informants reported the foundation of shejak-skad as being lhasa-skad and that Sanjo arrivals in the 80s and subsequent years were responsible for the present impurities in the Tibetan language in the TDD, yet an interview informant from Lhasa stated that shejak-skad was dominated by central Tibetan dialects which would be stigmatised as 'rural' in Lhasa. Non-Utsang Cholka-sum informants were more likely to state that they thought shejak-skad was like or similar to lhasa-skad, while Utsang informants were more likely to differentiate between dbus-gtsang-skad or lhasa-skad and shejak-skad mostly be stigmatising shejak-skad.

The concept of linguistic purity was assigned to dbus-gtsang-skad but informants also labelled it as having 'antique' words and as being spoken by an older generation, while conversely shejak-skad used 'modern' words. Nonetheless, Sanjos and Shejaks alike labelled shejak-skad as being impure. Shejak-skad could also be perceived as error-ridden and childish, with several informants actually stating that they did not desire to learn or speak shejak-skad or mix it with the pure Sanjo varieties. In the extreme Sanjo informants would declare that Shejak Tibetans could not speak Tibetan. Conversely, while Shejak Tibetans may defend their Tibetic varieties they also stigmatise Shejak varieties in other parts of India as being broken or amusing, as these Tibetan speakers sounded so 'funny'. Shejak-skad in the TDD was imbued with a status as TDD members rarely have the opportunity to mix with Indians and therefore preserve their language.

The QS data on informants' perceptions on the purity of dbus-gtsang-skad spoken by people from Tibet echoed the interview data. The results suggest that Amdo and to a lesser extent Kham informants were not as likely to agree to the singular notion of dbus-gtsang-skad purity. Generally throughout the results, informants reported that all Tibetic varieties were

important, therefore when asked about dbus-gtsang-skad, a variety that most Tibetans would consider a high status variety, Amdo and Kham informants would be more reluctant to verify the unique status of Utsang, but recognised its worth in the context of identifying it as an equal to the Tibetic variety associated with their place of birth identity construct.

To develop the understanding of the differentials attributed to dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad regarding linguistic purity, QS informants were also specifically asked to state their response to the statement that shejak-skad was the purest form of Tibetan. All four major place of birth categories reported substantially low figures regarding agreement towards the statement of shejak-skad being the purest Tibetic variety (Amdo 5.8%, Kham 5.1%, Utsang 9.1%, India 15%). These data suggest that on a superficial level the diasporic culture of preservation valorises *all* Tibetan cultural items, however the saliency of shejak-skad's perceived impurities results in the stigmatisation of this particular Tibetic variety. Nevertheless, it would seem intuitive that a displaced, diasporic variety not be identified as pure as those Tibetic varieties with stronger associations to the 'homeland'. These circumstances of stigmatisation of the purity of shejak-skad form an instance where the often status-enriched Shejak Tibetans, evoking what Heller (2007 p13) refers to as 'the messiness of actual usage', stigmatise "their own" Tibetic variety. This self-stigmatisation could appear to be rational, and is undeniably a contributing factor. However, De Landa (1991 p8) emphasises the hierarchies in the turbulent flow of migration as set with other hierarchies. This idea highlights the subjugation of the diaspora with the implication that the status of 'high-status' members of the TDD are only perceived in conjunction with those who supersede their status in terms of stability, rights and power.

7.3.3.1 The perceived usage of Shejak and Utsang varieties

The data suggests that TDD members are not in favour of the standardisation of Tibetan in the TDD. The majority of QS informants stated that they believed people who speak dbus-gtsang-skad were still required to speak other varieties of the Tibetan language. These results suggest further evidence of TDD members' positive attitudes towards the multiple Tibetic variety model, yet without stigmatising the Utsang variety. Dbus-gtsang-skad and shejak-skad were identified as two varieties, however were perceived to be more closely associated than other Tibetic varieties due to the ease of comprehension among speakers of both varieties. Nevertheless, comprehension among Utsangs and Shejaks in the TDD was varied, with opinion split regarding the ease of acquisition. Several Sanjo informants stated that it was often the case that they could adapt to the Shejak speakers and understand them but they could not be understood.

Sanjo informants, including Utsangs, in the interviews reported an often elongated process of acquiring an ability of comprehension in shejak-skad, which raises the issue of integration between Sanjos and Shejaks in the TDD. Therefore, applying Milroy and Milroy's (2009 p92) concept of strong and weak network links to the inter-Tibetan group dynamics the data suggest the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy exists in weaker social networks.

The reported use of honorific terms in dbus-gtsang-skad and lack of honorific terms in shejak-skad was used by informants to differentiate between the two varieties. The absence of honorifics was mentioned by a number of informants to indicate cultural difference. Sanjo informants might typically emphasise that Shejak Tibetans do not use polite words 'even to their parents', yet the lack of honorifics in Shejak Tibetan was not totally stigmatised by all Sanjo informants, with some identifying how they adjusted to the change in circumstances and began to view the previous linguistic structure as too restrictive. Non-Utsang informants

also expressed the notion that they perceived the overtly polite honorific usage as annoying. It was also the case that Shejak Tibetans, brought up in the diasporic culture of preservation, were aware of the 'mixing' of languages in their own repertoires and attempted to correct it. Shejak informants expressed the notion that they should speak 'proper Tibetan'. Shejak informant 13 reported that she tried to speak pure Tibetan around her child and that shejak-skad was not useful in any way, 'not even gossips'.

Therefore, despite the cultural awareness and political gravitas of the diasporic culture of preservation the high linguistic forms of Tibetan heritage were often rejected by Tibetans creating a much more dynamic linguistic ideology in the TDD than the ossified dogma and impracticality of labelling a community as a museum would allow. The motivation to preserve in conjunction with valuing the dynamics of linguistic change and adaption of these 'heritage varieties' perhaps represent examples of the 'extraordinary initiatives' according to Chambers (2009 p175) an immigrant community needs to retain their language. This research would suggest that examples of language loyalty are not just evident in TDD members speaking a particular Tibetic variety, or in Dorian's (2009) semi-speakers of a particular variety, but also in TDD members' comprehension abilities.

7.3.4 Assigning characteristics to Cholka-shi Tibetic variety speakers

Interview informants were asked to express basic stereotypes of intra-Tibetan groups in the TDD. Typical to stereotype labels, the responses were broad and superficial, prompting the suggestion that in essence these utterances functioned as markers of difference and indicators of inter-Tibetan group dynamics. Therefore the content of descriptions, complex or complicated labels, and detailed identity constructs were irrelevant and counter to the objective of existing in Tibetan discourses. The saliency of Cholka-sum stereotypes and the

comparative lack of Shejak ones suggest a heritage resource that is applied by "strategic essentialism" (Stanton 2005 p416). Stanton (2005) depicts this brand of essentialism as a political tool, and while that would also be applicable to the TDD these stereotypes as heritage resources in Tibetan discourses are perhaps more appropriately defined as cultural tools or acts of displacement.

Informants expressed the notion that the TDD environment altered certain generalised traits associated with certain intra-Tibetan groups, no doubt because the environment altered certain behavioural traits. Informant 36 from Utsang talked about the barbaric behaviour of Amdowas, but while living in an area where many Amdowas lived stated that she was only afraid of Amdowas in Tibet. This concept suggests the retaining of labels regardless of the alternation in behaviour due to the circumstances of the displacement. Due in part to the tourist industry and Orientalism in the TDD these stereotypes conform to Anand's (2002 p71) assertion that 'stereotyping is considered a basic mode of representing the 'other''. However these markers of 'other' in inter-Tibetan group dynamics occur in the absence of a hierarchical context, representing the complexity of the diversity of the features of a diasporic pan-Tibetan culture, and not merely a singular 'flattened' homogenous Tibetan one.

The concept of unity in diversity in the diasporic culture allows for informants to assign both prestige and stigmatisation regarding status and solidarity traits to the Cholka-shi intra groups and associated voices in accordance with Garrett's (2010) assertion of contradictions in attitudes, yet expressed in stable, generalizable response facilitating identification. In certain instances informant elicitations were typical: Khampa and Amdowas were labelled aggressive and were associated with fighting, yet were approachable as the solidarity trait of straightforward was assigned to both groups. Conversely people from U were stigmatised as being two-faced. The interview data also produced informant responses which could be regarded as unusual, as an intra-Tibetan group is assigned a number of low and high status

traits simultaneously: Shejak interview informants stigmatised Sanjos in general as being more aggressive. One informant described them as 'dirty' and that Sanjos 'stink', but while Shejaks in the interviews identified Sanjos has having a lower degree of education than Shejaks, many instances arose were they assigned status traits such as wealth, intelligence and wit. The assignment of conflicting traits also applied to how Cholka-sum intra-Tibetan groups labelled Shejak groups. Sanjo interview informants identified Shejak Tibetans as honest and kind, yet would also describe them as lacking in politeness and assign misogynistic labels to them.

VGT results indicate that overall informants assigned both positive and negative trait associations to all of the voices, which suggested a number of paradoxical themes. Overall the Amdo and Kham voices are assigned high affability traits and the Utsang and Shejak voices low ranking for these traits. All voices rank highly regarding at least one cognition trait. The Utsang voice rates the highest and the Kham voice is particularly stigmatised. The Kham voice and to a lesser degree the Utsang voice ranked highly regarding the trust traits. The Utsang voice ranked highly regarding the manners traits and the Shejak ranked particularly low in the manners traits but particularly highly regarding the attainment traits.

As informants ranked the voice associated with their place of birth variable highly regarding all of the trait groups (cognition, trust, manners, attainment and affability), it can be suggested that these are considered desirable qualities. To add further evidence to this claim, there were also similar general trends of statistically significant correlations between place of birth groups and high scores regarding all of the trait groups and the associated voices. Conversely, there was also data that Cholka-sum informants stigmatise the Shejak voice and the Shejak informants stigmatise the Cholka-sum voices. However, the data suggest that Shejak and Cholka-sum informants differentiate between the Utsang voice and the Kham and Amdo voices. The Kham and Amdo voices were considered more affable to all Cholka-sum

category informants, while all place of birth category informants assigned manners, attainment and affability trait status to non-associated voices. However, there were also statistically significant examples of informants stigmatising non-associated voices regarding the manners, attainment and affability traits. Therefore while there is predicable assignment of status to the Shejak and Utsang voices, and solidarity trait assignment to Amdo and Kham voices, and to a lesser degree the Utsang voice on occasion, overall in the research there are numerous examples of informants assigning conflicting traits in a number of ways.

The implications of the contradictory nature of these results are perhaps best measured on an 'assessment of intensity' (Garrett's 2010 p23). A low level of intensity of stigmatising the Shejak voice, particularly regarding purity, would allow for the intra-Tibetan Shejak group to retain other status traits and not deny the utility of shejak-skad to other intra-Tibetan groups. However, the data suggest a high level of intensity regarding the assignment of purity to all Tibetic varieties from Tibet, yet the status of Tibetan cultural membership accounts for general Tibetic linguistic convergence. Therefore, cognitively and affectively attitudes toward perceptions of purity are intensified, but this cultural hyper-valorising is not replicated in regards to behaviour to the same degree.

The recognition of difference in Tibetic varieties in the TDD with low level intensity of stigmatisation allow for the suggestion that these linguistic differences represent and provide an opportunity for Tibetan cultural display. Linguistically, the exclusivity of a Tibetic variety derives from being an identity marker, while usage does not assign a divergent shibboleth function limiting access to other Tibetic variety speakers. Considering how increased intelligibility is reported among the variants of Tibetic variety speakers the research returns to the saliency of the theme of intra-Tibetic varieties providing members of the TDD with both valued intra-Tibetan and pan-Tibetan identity markers. The multiple Tibetan identities associated with a particular Tibetic variety are evident in how the multiple ways that variety

is identified. It is evident in this research that informants will generally express speaking Tibetan yet will also apply numerous other intra-Tibetic varieties to one particular Tibetic variety in their repertoire regardless of whether they have acquired further Tibetic varieties. It was often the case that interview informants would use several interchangeable terms when discussing one Tibetic variety signifying their multiple Tibetan identities. Therefore, Tibetan nationalism founded on ethnical criteria adheres to the concept of unity in diversity as the intra-Tibetic varieties are, within the politicised contexts of the TDD, authentic examples of Tibetan nationalism.

The universal hyper-valorising of Tibetan cultural items is an essential element of Tibetan nationalism in the diaspora that exists in contradiction to, yet not conflict with, a diasporic culture of preservation that values traditional Tibetan cultural items. Predictably, there was evidence to suggest that Shejak diasporic cultural items and varieties were considered to be corrupted or influenced by non-Tibetan cultures. However, the hyper-valorising of Tibetan cultural items allows diasporic Shejak cultural items to exist as an equivalent to the Cholka-sum representations. It could be argued that Tibetan nationalism is a diasporic Shejak cultural entity, yet despite the lack of tradition Tibetans born in exile use it as a representation when they could choose alternatives such as 'Tibetan', or state that they speak dbus-gtsang-skad, for example, instead of shejak-skad.

In linguistic terms it could be suggested that the hyper-valorising of Tibetan cultural items has not only impacted on accommodation but also linguistic divergence. The informant-reported presence of linguistic polynomy and the multiple Tibetic variety repertoires provide further examples of TDD members valuing and choosing multiple intra and pan-Tibetan identities.

7.4 Identity constructs in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The initial enquiry regarding TDD members' identity constructs took place in the QS. The QS was designed to elicit informant identity constructs, whether single or multiple responses. In comparison the interview survey questions on informants' identity were open and ambiguous in an attempt to allow informants a platform where they could express an understanding of their own and other identity constructs present in the TDD which they were aware of and regarded as salient. As the place of birth constructs had been established when the VGT was designed, the enquiry as to informants' identity was more structured and response choices were limited compared to the two previous data techniques.

While informants used gender and age, to a much lesser extent, to define their identities the prominent theme throughout the research, especially in regards to language, was informants assigning the pan-Tibetan identity construct to themselves and other TDD members in conjunction with numerous other intra-Tibetan constructs derived from a regional association.

Interview informants often used linguistic variation among Tibetic speakers to define difference. This not only defined the Cholka-sum identity categories and the variations of difference within each Cholka-sum identity construct but also the Shejak construct. In conjunction with this notion interview informants emphasised that the language differential was one, if not the only, difference among TDD members. While difference among the place of birth variable groups was implicit in informants' descriptions of the attributes of a certain intra-Tibetan group, no informant was of the opinion that any group or individual of the TDD could be excluded from the pan-Tibetan identity construct. Conversely, Chinese, Indian and 'foreigner' group identities did not incorporate any feature of the Tibetan identity constructs.

Alternatively, informants were aware of and expressed the concept that 'foreign' or Western cultural items were available for use by TDD members or could influence TDD members. Regarding this issue, informants were aware of a Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy, with Sanjo interview informants expressing difference by recognising Shejak Tibetans as Tibetan but labelling Shejak Tibetans' actions and thinking as being similar to 'foreigners' or 'Westerners'. The segregation between Sanjo and Shejak members of the TDD was reported by informants as being a salient feature of the dichotomy, yet while informants indicated the rarity of intimate friendships between Sanjo and Shejak TDD members, it was rare that TDD members were overtly critical of the other intra-Tibetan group members. Criticism, even in the extreme, was a device to assign difference, yet within the set boundaries of the pan-Tibetan construct; which also, as with the attitudinal results, allowed for conflicting positive statements about other intra-Tibetan groups to be made. For example, Shejaks could be criticised for being westernised in one instance but in another were assigned recognition as being perceived to have enacted behaviour which made them devout Buddhists implying proper representation of the pan-Tibetan construct.

Pan-Tibetan identity is undeniably valued in the TDD. It is associated with the status of Buddhism, it is salient in a political sense, and therefore a cultural one, yet the mysticism and essentialism which are significant features of Tibetan identity and culture are depicted almost entirely as deleterious orientalist labels. Lopez's (1998) 'prisoners of Shangri-La', Rubio's (2004) 'mythos Tibet' and Anand's (2002) 'exotica Tibet' are profoundly important to understanding the subject matter. Nonetheless, not at the expense of Orientalism but in conjunction with it the Tibetan mythologizing of their culture is part of a cultural expression of identity not just associated with the reminiscing of those in exile, but a commonality in cultural identity construction.

Certain criticism leveed at the diasporic Tibetan community has focused on the use of essentialist stereotyping of the pan-Tibetan identity construct taken from Orientalist sources. While the condemnation may arise from the sources of adoption the motivations to use such constructs appear practical. The Tibetan diaspora's nationalist narrative of an independent Tibet, not as a unified ethnic land or group but as an entity defined politically using 'modern' criteria, begins during a period of western colonisation in Asia. Conversely, during the period of India and China gaining independence Tibet was colonised by the Chinese therefore denied a 'gained independence from the western coloniser' narrative. Tibet's present circumstances dictate that 'pre-PRC occupation Tibet' is therefore the independent Tibet which inspires the nationalist Tibetan narrative. This narrative signifies legitimate representation not only in the notion of the attainment of independence but in the desired restoration of a substantial Buddhist influence in Tibet, the destruction of which is a salient narrative of the occupation.

In terms of practicality the Orientalist, essentialist stereotypes used as Tibetan diasporic nationalist constructs not only possess a stability in longevity but are perhaps board and uncomplicated enough to exist in the ephemeral, displaced context of the diaspora with the challenge of combating the impotence of abstractionism key in regards to Tibetan nationalism and it's manifestation as the 'Tibet issue'.

The ethnographic data from the interview informants evidently demonstrated both strong intra-Tibetan group and pan-Tibetan allegiances. As discussed, typically an informant could display a duality of intra-Tibetan group and pan-Tibetan allegiances or multiple identity constructs with concepts such as 'unity in diversity' a crucially defining element of the relationship between the two components. While intra-group membership may require little in terms of satisfying a particular obligation the pan-Tibetan construct is inexplicably associated with a nationalist struggle for independence. However, the Tibet issue is one

marred in abstractionism. The nationalist narratives the informants expound are explanatory and descriptive regarding their circumstances but offer little political analysis of their predicament. In the TDD it is intuitive that the Tibet issue is a moral issue yet it is stated hypothetically; *Tibet should be free, His Holiness should return to Tibet*.

Perhaps the TDD is constructing a nationalist narrative which is in danger of being too simplistic and politically naïve or apathetic, or perhaps constructing a credible nationalist narrative focusing on the attainment of a state of independence for Tibet or even credible autonomy is unrealistic. In the TDD many members were aware of possible occurrences of instability in the PRC. Protests and demonstrations in the PRC which take place outside the ethnic Tibetan areas represent what is hoped to be a developing volatility which could ultimately bring regime change. However, it appears that specifically with regards to the nationalist movement in the TDD this potential future event is not identified as providing an opportunity requiring preparation but merely one which evokes anticipation.

7.4.1 Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora members' reporting and awareness of identity constructs

Each data collection technique allows for varying degrees of informant expression regarding their identity constructs. In my previous experience living in the TDD and the data collection process of my master's thesis, I became aware of the saliency of the place of birth identity construct. Two key factors relating to this were apparent and initiated the direction of this present enquiry. Firstly, these constructs, which may typically be labelled as cultural identity constructs, were generally expressed in particularly personal expressions of identity and not an arbitrary label with association by proxy. Secondly, and in conjunction with the first aspect, TDD members appeared to be particularly aware of these place of birth identity

constructs, no doubt as a result of and emphasised by their circumstances. The pan-Tibetan construct was predominantly nationalistic in sentiment and therefore belonged to individual members as a cultural representation that defined their relationship with the displacement of the diaspora through the politicised discourses of the Tibet issue; a social endeavour to champion a just cause. The intra-Tibetan group association authenticated the value of the Tibetan culture especially on an intimate level, serving as an effective tool for maintaining belonging to specific groups and geographic locations, and reinforced a social cohesion required to cope with the situation.

The emphasis on informant-expressed identity construct awareness, especially regarding the interview data, facilitated the enquiry into the relationship between the concepts of identity and language attitudes, and therefore also the association between those concepts and linguistic comprehension and performance. Informants generally expressed their identity and difference among TDD members in the interviews using the place of birth variables. While gender was used as an identity marker, age was generally ignored. The pan-Tibetan identity construct was also salient throughout the interviews whether informants were describing themselves or other TDD members. Rubio's (2004 p13) argument that displacement has intensified territorial consciousness among Tibetan refugees appears an accurate assessment. However, there are a number of other elements worth mentioning which contextualise this issue further. As the informants in this research clearly indicated that pan-Tibetan identity was valued equally to or correspondingly with the intra-Tibetan regional identities, it can be asserted that TDD members value *all* Tibetan identities. In addition, the data also suggests that strong intra-Tibetan group affiliation in the TDD is maintained by a strong intra-Tibetan group network.

7.4.2 The multiple identity construct

Interview informants would self-identify with a number of constructs in answer to an ambiguous question on identity. Answers often included gender references, especially among female informants, but the most consistent response was one of association with the pan-Tibetan identity constructs in conjunction with an intra-Tibetan one. The majority of QS informants stated having multiple identities (62.6% of QS informants) the defining feature of which was a self-assigned pan-Tibetan construct plus an intra-Tibetan construct predominantly involving a Cholka-sum or Cholka-shi regional construct. The majority of India born or diaspora born informants self-identified as Tibetan and Shejak in the VGT (41.5%) while 50.8% of QS informant responses stated the Shejak identity as part of their construct. Apart from 2.2% of QS informants from the Kham category who stated their identity as the single case item of Amdowa and 0.7% from the Utsang category which stated 'Shejak', all other Cholka-sum informants stated multiple identities.

Motivation to assign pan-Tibetan and intra-Tibetan identity constructs appeared to originate from factors specifically concerning the Tibetan issue and the diasporic circumstances linking the notion of TDD members' identity constructs to what the research describes as the diasporic culture of preservation. Regional Tibetan identity constructs become hyper-valued due to the culture of preservation linking TDD members' awareness to abstract, yet status-associated, concepts of nationalism with the identity constructs of individuals, community networks and narratives of belonging. There were issues regarding the legitimacy of emphasis on the Cholka-sum regional identity constructs at certain levels. In particular, narratives which appear to originate from diasporic authorities homogenise Tibetan cultural identity, yet the data collected suggest a fairly harmonious existence between the pan-Tibetan element and the intra-Tibetan element of TDD members' identity constructs, with TDD

members expressing awareness of the saliency of a multiple identity construct based on these two features.

While at certain levels of analysis the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy is an element of the TDD which can involve the assignment of intra-group labels that over-emphasise 'other' stigmatisation, this research collected enough data to allow for the supposition that the diasporic intra-Tibetan groups were perhaps better defined through the alignment with the Cholka-sum constructs forming a Cholka-shi. The motivation to state this concept of intra-Tibetan group categorisation is not drawn from attempting to present a congenial appearance of the TDD or intra-Tibetan relations, but on the saliency of the all-inclusive pan-Tibetan identity construct in conjunction with the informants' recognition of an identity construct categorisation which is the most representative of their own construct but also the other intra-Tibetan group members.

This is apt not just in describing the traditional Cholka-sum intra-Tibetan groups, but also accounts for the validation of the Shejak intra-Tibetan group by all members of the TDD, as this diasporic intra-Tibetan group is primarily Tibetan in construction and must therefore adhere to the pan-Tibetan plus intra-Tibetan group categorisation construction. A significant feature of the Shejak intra-group which also defines the other Cholka-shi groups is the strong social network of intra-Tibetan group members. The research presents ample evidence to show that the Shejak intra-Tibetan group exists. The Cholka-shi concept proposes a model which is an all-inclusive representation of the TDD, while recognising that the fourth diasporic element is not necessarily equal in TDD members' awareness. Nonetheless this group self-identifies as such and uses linguistic and identity construct differences as salient markers of difference and sameness, leading to the Cholka-shi model as an appropriate representation of the status of the Shejak intra-Tibetan group through its association with the other three elements and thus its status as a valid intra-Tibetan group through its Tibetan-ness.

7.4.3 Pan-Tibetan identity

Regardless of the other elements in informants' identity constructs the pan-Tibetan construct was the overall key component with 86% QS informants and 88% of VGT informants assigning this element to their identity construct. The interviews produced similar results with informant trends regarding identity based on explicated statements of association to the Tibetan identity construct. The inclination TDD members have to self-identify as Tibetan in the data as a whole is not only comprehensive, but analysis of the interview data suggest informants report this association in non-perfunctory terms while appearing to express genuine and sincere affiliation. Intra-group identities validate TDD members as being a particular variant of the Tibetan construct, yet the multiple identity constructs of TDD members function to explicitly emphasise the pan-Tibetan construct.

The pan-Tibetan identity construct is a valuable symbol for TDD members in that it relates to the status association of Buddhism and certain moral practices such as non-violence towards humans and animal species, belief in which is an ideological parameter of excellence even if in practice these concepts are bound with contradictions. Subsequently, these concepts support a perception of the Tibetans and Tibet in complementary terms regarding the issue of morality in the national narrative of the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese and the injustice of a large nation invading and imposing their law and culture on a smaller "peaceful" neighbouring nation. Consequently, Tibet is not only empowered in the narrative as having nation-state status, thus the equal of actual existing states, but a moral, religious one in the midst of suffering the oppression of a nation ruled by fanatics bent on totalitarianism. The national minorities construct in the PRC allows for the notion that Tibetans could regard themselves as Tibetan and believe Tibet to be a part of China, yet because of the narrative of

occupation and the subsequent atrocities committed in Tibet by the Chinese, to be Tibetan in the TDD is to be politically active in opposing the Chinese communist authorities.

Interview data suggest two salient themes associated with the Tibetan identity construct. The first was to identify a cultural responsibility which all Tibetans were seen to have, and the second was to hyper-valorise Tibetan cultural items and practices due to association with a nationalistic concept in hyper-sensitive circumstances. In general the concept of national identity is particular in that it is a universal classification, yet simultaneously it can often be perceived as an arbitrary construct regarding self. The concept of Tibetan nationalism is curious in that, at present, it fails to adhere to a rudimentary definition of nation in that the Tibetan nation is denied self-rule or the habitation of a particular territory. Other factors such as inclusive membership of an imagined community and belief in a common descent, a shared culture and language, create concepts which can be utilised to express identity and act as catalysts to the assignment of status, yet are nonetheless elements which are unable to replace the absence of the power of state ownership. The displacement of the Tibetan culture in the TDD hyper-valorises the elements which do exist, such as Tibetan identity and language and Tibetic varieties and intra-Tibetan identities in acts compensating for the loss of the other integral elements of a Tibetan nation construction.

Stateless Tibetan nationalism therefore presents itself in the authentic cultural elements of the TDD, assigning hyper-values to the pan-Tibetan identity construct, which in turn allows for TDD members to self-assign multiple identity constructs, as neither intra-Tibetan group identity nor the pan-Tibetan identity construct compromise each other's worth. In fact, regardless of difference or otherness in terms of intra-Tibetan identities, the shared pan-Tibetan identity construct values solidarity among an exclusive membership.

7.4.3.1 Features of the pan-Tibetan identity construct in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The diasporic circumstances not only act as a catalyst to hyper-valorisation of Tibetan cultural items and practices but, as articulated by interview informants, as being a particularly significant aspect of TDD members' lives. The pan-Tibetan construct not only functioned as a cultural marker, but interview informants expressed numerous examples of the associated political connotations. Informants born in both Tibet and the diaspora referred to themselves as refugees or political refugees. While there was a trend of TDD members emigrating to western countries, the "refugee" label was one which described the instability of residing in the TDD more than the transiency of the diaspora. Furthermore, while some informants had discussed the 'fake' political prisoners in the TDD, the political refugee label appeared to apply to the pan-Tibetan construct and was not utilised to attempt to facilitate the acquisition of a foreign passport or differentiate from economic refugee labels.

There were narratives in the TDD repeated in the interviews which signified that Tibetans capable of returning to Tibet should equip themselves with knowledge about Tibetan culture and political issues and return to their country. This concept of politicising the return to Tibet by TDD members born there was not expressed as an absolute, or particularly cited by TDD members returning to Tibet, but was an insight into the idea that Sanjo Tibetans had more invested in the Tibetan issue than Shejak Tibetans. The emphasis on the informant-led research provided an ideal vehicle with regard to collecting authentic data, but also as an appropriate way of discussing potentially sensitive topics in an ethical way. With interview informants I knew well I could ask more searching questions, believing I would not offend or insult and would receive honest responses. It was during an interview with a particularly close friend, a first generation India born Shejak Tibetan, that I asked if she would return to

Tibet if the occasion of Tibetan independence should arise. Her response (Informant 13) was that she probably would not. This comment is worth mentioning here as her non-affiliation to the geographical location of Tibet did not detract from her reporting a strong pan-Tibetan identity.

There is awareness in the TDD that the diasporic culture of preservation and the valuing of the Tibetan culture may over-emphasise a focus on traditions and "traditional culture". This research would state that the data collected for this project also suggest, whether due to an arbitrary association or not, that the hyper-valorising diasporic culture of preservation also values elements of the contemporary diasporic Tibetan culture. As stated in chapter four and in contrast with Rubio (2004), the Green book or registration certificate (RC) is a valued diasporic Tibetan cultural item. The RC obviously provides legitimacy regarding residential status but also acts as a valuable symbol of Tibetanness functioning as an imitation of a passport, and thus, a member of a particular nation-state. If it is assumed that Rubio's (2004) assertion that the RC was of less value to Amdowas and Khampas a decade ago is correct, then it would seem intuitive to cite the demonstrations in 2008 in Tibet and the subsequent events, most noticeably the acts of self-immolation, as possible catalysts for the increasing popularisation and saliency of the pan-Tibetan construct and associated cultural items.

7.4.3.2 The identity constructs of others in the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The acceptance of the pan-Tibetan identity construct, and therefore creation of an exclusive identity construct group membership in the TDD, is further established by the proximity of 'other' group membership. Regardless of the levels of inter-group interaction among Tibetans and non-Tibetans in the TDD, the space can be defined as Tibetan but also as shared by non-Tibetan groups. There are numerous narratives across a spectrum of opinions which define

the inter-group interactions and relations of Tibetans with non-Tibetans. In the nationalist narrative the Chinese are 'other', yet regardless of the actions of the Chinese state this other is essentially not vilified. The presence of Indians of various groups and international tourists also produces cross-cultural instances often defined using polemics but not discriminatory in the absolute. Primarily the Buddhist element of the Tibetan culture is salient in these cross-cultural experiences, which assigns further value to this concept in diasporic culture. The presence of an 'other' is inevitable in the TDD and regardless of English and Hindi being spoken by TDD members, 'other' does not signify the potential loss of Tibetan cultural items but an opportunity to present them to an audience.

In chapter two Heberer (2001) and Tsering Shakya's (2009) views on the jingoism present in the Tibeto-Sino cross-cultural behaviour present moral judgements critical of social prejudice. While prejudice directed at a particular group or an individual of a particular group based on socio-cultural motivations (sexism, racism ageism *et al*) is generally perceived to be morally deviant, it is also a socio-cultural norm. 'Other' identity construction is an example of prejudice, however informants expressed difference regarding inter-Tibetan group 'other' labels and non-Tibet group 'other' labels. Intra-Tibetan 'other' exists yet the data suggest a soft prejudice in conjunction with conflicting inclusion in pan-Tibetan group members.

7.4.3.2.1 Barbaric others or sisters and brothers?

The existence of an 'other' construct existed in intra-Tibetan group relations. Tajfel's (1977) concept of social distance can be utilised to present the variation which exists between intra-Tibetan group other and non-Tibetan group other. As previously asserted, the pan-Tibetan identity construct was a phenomenon universally assigned to all Tibetans. Therefore the

conceptualisation of 'different' and 'other' in intra-Tibetan group dynamics did not distance other intra-Tibetan groups further than non-Tibetan groups.

Perhaps in the past the saliency of difference and otherness between Sanjo and Shejak groups in the TDD was more pronounced. What appeared paramount in interview informants' responses regarding the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy was not assigning labels that particularly stigmatised other intra-Tibetan groups, but one which expressed the separation between Sanjo and Shejak Tibetans in the TDD.

The scene of the narratives surrounding the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy is a small town community and this element did help frame the expressions of otherness, which was reported in terms of gossiping and backbiting. Devoid of the concept of covert prestige, Shejak Tibetans could assign the stigmatisation of the 'red-faced' complexion[49] to Sanjos yet while the reference is pejorative it is not extremely offensive. The concepts of otherness and difference which appeared more neutral often expressed notions of social distance between the intra-Tibetan groups. The perceived westernisation and Hindi-isation of Shejak Tibetans was an example of interview informants born in Tibet describing marked differences in Shejak Tibetan behaviour to their own. Shejak Tibetans opted for a typical barbaric construct assignment to Sanjos, labelling them as uncivilised, yet perhaps primarily as a vehicle to promote their own civilised qualities. While this latter example is not neutral per se, the indexing of the barbaric construct often involved producing a perfunctory list of stereotypes.

The Tibetan issue itself was cited as a source of ignominy between Sanjo and Shejak Tibetans. During the interviews a number of Sanjo Tibetans said that they felt that Shejak Tibetans could not relate to their experiences of displacement and separation from their family. These circumstances are an important motivation for Sanjo social network dynamics

[49] This is a stereotypical symbol of a rustic Tibetan.

in the diaspora, and while the Sanjo/Shejak dichotomy is not an absolute this may possibly be an uncomfortable actuality for a diasporic community whose raison d'être is purported to be the Tibetan cause.

7.4.4 The intra-Tibetan identity construct

The multiple Tibetan identity construct in section 7.3.2 presented the suggestion that the pan-Tibetan identity construct and the intra-Tibetan identity construct exist in TDD members' awareness and self-assigned identity constructs. In this section the identities which informants described as their intra-Tibetan identities will be discussed in an attempt to develop an understanding of the role of the intra-Tibetan construct.

Multiple aspects of language define and shape our perceptions and existence, from literacy to negotiating relationships with those around us. Language is not only the ultimate cultural transfer tool but a social tool, linking the individual to the group, not just through a particular codified system or the communication of specific concepts but through the shared practices of identity expression, convergence and acts of social being, which require group participation. Coulmas (2010 p33) asserts that 'regional variation in language lends itself to social differentiation', which in turn is important for social practices of display, expression and belonging, which all involve issues concerning identity.

The place of birth results of QS of informants related to the regional intra-Tibetan identities of informants (11.9% of QS informants reported that they were born in Amdo with 12.4% of informants self-assigning the Amdo construct, 28.6% of QS informants reported that they were born in Kham with 24.2% of informants self-assigning the Kham construct, 17.7% of QS informants reported that they were born in Utsang with 27.5% of informants self-

assigning the Utsang construct). The discrepancies between the assignment of constructs and the place of birth results can be accounted for by factors such as how informants categorised their place of birth, for example in QS 38.1% reported that they were born in India, 2.2% in Nepal and 1% in Bhutan and only 20.8% self-identified as Shejak.

Regional association has long played an important role in defining intra-Tibetan group identities. The histories of the regions of Tibet, whether in conjunction with each other or running as parallel narratives, present the Cholka-sum identities as unique and valuable aspects of the Tibetan culture. This research proposes that the diasporic culture of preservation helps define the Cholka-shi classification, as the Cholka-sum regional identities are valued. Thus connecting a diasporic intra-Tibetan identity to the Cholka-sum classification assigns value to the diasporic identity construct. In turn the Cholka-shi system helps define the multiple networks of support and socialisation, in addition to the more intimate perceptions of self which are prominent as available and attractive identity construct categories due to the status assigned to the Tibetan culture.

During the interviews several informants expressed the notion that the TDD was not a Shejak or settlement, as the majority of TDD members were from Tibet. This concept provides further evidence for the awareness of TDD members of the Shejak Tibetan identity construct. In conjunction with labels associated with particular linguistic variants, the Shejak identity construct appears to be a valid, recognised and salient feature of the TDD. While there are issues regarding the epistemology of the word, the Shejak identity construct is no longer a definable 'other' in contrast to the Sanjo construct but, as this research asserts, an actual, contemporary Tibetan identity construct in existence due to the diasporic circumstances. Therefore, the Shejak identity construct should be identified as an equal to the traditional Cholka-sum constructs and combine to form a Cholka-shi system of classification.

7.5 Limitations of the research

The pilot questionnaire was useful in developing the rigour of the questionnaire; however there were still minor issues regarding accurate translation from English to Tibetan. In addition, the level of my Tibetan language skills is an aspect of the research which clearly warrants criticism. An improvement of my Tibetan would mean in the future I could also conduct my own interviews. This was also the first time I had developed and executed a VGT. While I am content that the VGT results are valid the novice element and the fact, to my knowledge, this VGT test was the first in the TDD it would seem appropriate to be cautious of the results until other VGTs in the TDD can confirm their reliability.

A particular limitation of the VGT was that the test results reflect the informants' view on the accent of the speakers. It was decided that using VGT audios that incorporated syntactical and morphological differences of the Cholka-shi speakers would create too many variables. However, using a recording which only had the difference of the accent variable among speakers was justified (cf, Bourhis, Giles and Tajfel (1973). However, while the multiple Tibetic variety model and the interview data justified use of the audio content, given more time it would seem intuitive to conduct numerous tests using numerous variations not only based on accent but on the other differences mentioned.

As the research was just conducted in the TDD this restricts the validity of the data regarding issues of representation of the entire diaspora. For a single-site research on the Tibetan diaspora the TDD is ideal. It was accessible and the community is representative of all Cholka-shi groups, and I had lived there before which was advantageous in terms of understanding the community and presenting myself as a *bona fide* interested party. However McGranahan (2010) makes several remarks regarding the advantages of conducting research at a number of sites in the diaspora, which make it an attractive proposition.

I was satisfied that the fieldwork took place over a year. In that time and on the previous occasion I lived in the TDD I was particularly conscious of TDD members' awareness of the transiency and superficially of the tourist/researcher/Western Buddhist scholar population. However, as sociolinguistic research is in its infancy in the TDD it would appear intuitive to reflect that the fieldwork period was a substantial limitation.

In this technological age, with adequate funding, it would appear that so much more could be done. The general limitations and focus of the research on the profoundly important topic of language attitudes meant that the Tibetan language could not be studied in greater depth.

With regards to the limitations of the epistemological and oncological approaches of the research two initial themes occur. Firstly, while the approaches govern the perspective of the research the research does not claim that this perspective should exclusively dictate how the subject matter should be viewed. On the contrary, the research recognises the complexity of human interaction and behaviour and argues that a hypothetical 'complete' understanding would only exist if 'all' perspectives at 'all' levels of analysis could be obtained. Secondly, the inductive approach and the emphasis on utilising the informant-led perspective to structure and categorise the data may present a paradoxical situation with these two concepts failing to be adequately achieved. The involvement of the researcher challenges the notion of 'informant-led' while perhaps in certain instances the inductive approach merely reports on the deductive theories of others. For example, alternative research could propose a linguistic categorisation which denied TDD members the authority to identify shejak-skad as a valid label, while alternatively the concept of a Cholka-shi as a structuring device was devised by the researcher.

As stated in the beginning of this chapter the focus on the informant-led responses may have limited alternative enquires regarding informants' identities which may have been valid to

include and may have been either implicit in informant responses or regarded as stigmatised. Finally, a further problematic aspect of the legitimacy of the inductive approach involves addressing the issue of whether or not the research could be defined as inductive if the researcher had previously lived in the TDD and was compelled to undertake a research project on the subject without forming theories on the very thing that interested him.

7.6 Recommendations of the research

It was perceived as beneficial to produce two categories for the recommendation section yet this is not designed to prescribe a particular comment to a particular reader in an exclusive manner. In fact, the sub-section delineation defines a certain perception among members of both groups of this dichotomy being representative especially if viewed as rarely intersecting. Whether or not this is the case the initial recommendation is to urge Tibetologists and linguists whose work is relevant to this to reside for extended periods in Tibetan communities, and TDD members to become activity involved with non-Tibetan organisations concerning the Tibetan language and culture. As mobility and social interaction are realised on global levels these recommendations are not made to indicate a void but aim to reflect the perceived opportunities currently in existence.

Cultural items may typically be defined as having an intrinsic value or associated with heritage, which implies a particular value of status unsullied by a financial association apart from those connecting it to the tourist industry. This creates a peculiar instance where the value assigned to these items is both priceless and worthless. How are these unaccountable cultural items to be safeguarded?

One narrative which TDD members are aware of, and was cited in the interviews in this research was that the present perception and worth of the Tibetan cause was created by the adverse situation formed by the invasion and occupation of Tibet. It is impossible to eliminate the political dimension from the issues that define the Tibetan diaspora. Perhaps the Tibetan issue is irrelevant and clichéd and any outcome inconsequential to the world at large, yet the origins of the diaspora lay in the assembly of the present international system. Therefore, the Tibet issue is one which not only defines a particular circumstance but is a feature of globalisation and nationalism on an international stage. Therefore, perhaps these features of politicisation of the Tibet issue are components of an awareness, motivation and momentum to not only value Tibetan cultural items but to also popularise the behaviours and attitudes which members of the TDD exhibit regarding valuing cultural items.

7.6.1 Recommendations for the Tibetan Dharamsala Diaspora

The opinion above recommending non-Tibetans to emulate the awareness and attitudes of TDD members and thus to 'hyper-value' cultural items is essentially flawed as these concepts are components of the politicisation of the TDD. This recommendation is more succinctly put stating that perhaps minority cultures should perceive a political aspect in their instability in the current climate of globalisation, yet this point is grounded in conjecture. Due to this concept of the politicised nature of the Tibet issue and even notions of orientalism, as a non-Tibetan I am reluctant to suggest what members of the TDD should or should not do. However, the research data suggests that there is a component in the narrative of pan-Tibetan homogeneity in the TDD which is reluctant to accept the value and validity of regional intra-group Cholka-sum identity constructs. Tentatively, the researcher recommends embracing these intra-Tibetan group identities in addition to the diasporic Shejak intra-group identity

construction, and therefore proposes the Cholka-shi model as a possible concept to structure these components.

During the interview stage several informants berated the Tibetan diaspora's lack of writers and intellectuals. The researcher has neither the position nor the desire to criticise those Tibetans who work passionately for the betterment of the Tibetan diaspora, nor do I wish to label my own work or the work of other non-Tibetans as inadequate. However, I strongly believe there to be an opportunity involving those in this cross-cultural experience to enhance not only the Tibetan diaspora's understanding of westernised political machinations but also develop a much needed insight to those most affected by globalisation.

7.6.2 Recommendations for linguistic research

Finally, this research recommends the development of research of minority language revitalisation and maintenance to cultivate and incorporate a multiple variety model drawing emphasis away from single variety standardisation and present top down policy dictates and focus on long term 'live' maintenance model which are defined not only by the production of linguistic accommodation, convergence and polynomic circumstances of increased comprehension where applicable but also incorporate individuals' language attitudes as a decisive factor.

As this research is solely based on self-reporting future research on the polynomic situation in the TDD should include actual testing of participants' comprehension of the Tibetan varieties. I would also recommend some case studies of Tibetans in the TDD of the four Cholka-shi intra-Tibetan groups interacting with each other in order to actually analyse how all the varieties interact in this language contact situation.

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Appendix 1: Further information regarding the data for chapter four

Table A1.1 Descriptive Statistics of the age of informants from QS categorised by place of birth

	N	Minimum age	Maximum age	Mean age	Std. Deviation
Overall responses	736	10	79	25.6	8.7
Amdo	82	16	60	26.3	8.3
Kham	208	14	65	26.1	8.1
Utsang	124	15	71	29.4	10.2
India	289	10	79	23.5	8
Nepal	17	16	36	21.7	6.9
Bhutan	7	17	47	29.6	10.2
USA	2	23	24	23.5	0.7
Germany	1	28			

Table A1.2 Descriptive Statistics of the age of the VGT informants categorised by place of birth

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Overall responses	156	16	55	28.3	8.6
Amdo	17	17	38	25.1	5.0
Kham	42	17	50	29.1	8.6
Utsang	42	17	54	28.7	8.1
India	53	16	55	28.6	9.8
Bhutan	2	20	29	24.5	6.4

Table A1.3 Descriptive Statistics of the age of the interview informants categorised by place of birth

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Overall responses	56	21	47	32.0	6.5
Amdo	10			35.0	4.2
Kham	24			31.5	7.7
Utsang	13			31.5	7.2
India	9			30.6	3.3

Appendix 2: Further information regarding the data for chapter five

Table A2.1 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Utsang section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Utsang section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Utsang		Tibetan	32	22.9	23.5
		Tibetan, Hindi, English	40	28.6	29.4
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	16	11.4	11.8
		Tibetan, English	12	8.6	8.8
		Tibetan, English, Chinese	12	8.6	8.8
		Tibetan, Hindi	11	7.9	8.1
		Tibetan, Hindi, Chinese	1	.7	.7
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Nepali	7	5.0	5.1
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese, Mongolian	1	.7	.7
		Tibetan, Chinese	3	2.1	2.2
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Orissa	1	.7	.7
		Total	136	97.1	100.0
	Missing	System	4	2.9	
	Total		140	100.0	

Table A2.2 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Amdo section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Amdo section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Amdo		Tibetan	27	28.7	29.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English	11	11.7	12.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	14	14.9	15.2
		Tibetan, English	14	14.9	15.2
		Tibetan, English, Chinese	13	13.8	14.1
		Tibetan, Hindi	2	2.1	2.2
		Tibetan, Chinese	10	10.6	10.9
		Tibetan, English, Chinese, Sara kay	1	1.1	1.1
		Total	92	97.9	100.0
	Missing	System	2	2.1	
	Total		94	100.0	

Table 2.3 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Kham section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Kham section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Kham		Tibetan	66	29.2	30.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English	37	16.4	16.8
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	23	10.2	10.5
		Tibetan, English	27	11.9	12.3
		Tibetan, English, Chinese	31	13.7	14.1
		Tibetan, Hindi	1	.4	.5
		Tibetan, Hindi, Chinese	6	2.7	2.7
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Nepali	3	1.3	1.4
		Tibetan, Hindi, Nepali, Bhutanese, East speak	1	.4	.5
		Tibetan, Chinese	23	10.2	10.5
		Tibetan, English, Chinese, Gayrong kay from Kham	1	.4	.5
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese, Nepali, Kay lug kay	1	.4	.5
		Total	220	97.3	100.0
	Missing	System	6	2.7	
	Total		226	100.0	

Table A2.4 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Nepal section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Nepal section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nepal		Tibetan, Hindi, English	6	35.3	40.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	1	5.9	6.7
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Nepali	6	35.3	40.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Nepali, Himalaya	1	5.9	6.7
		Tibetan, Nepali	1	5.9	6.7
		Total	15	88.2	100.0
	Missing	System	2	11.8	
	Total		17	100.0	

Table A2.5 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from India section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from India section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
India		Tibetan	24	8.0	8.1
		English	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English	201	66.8	67.4
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Ladakhi	12	4.0	4.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	15	5.0	5.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Dobay from Utsang	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, English	5	1.7	1.7
		Tibetan, Hindi	11	3.7	3.7
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Nepali	12	4.0	4.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, Mon kay	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Ladakhi	6	2.0	2.0
		Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, French	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Orissa	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Italian, French	1	.3	.3
		Hindi, Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese, Spiti	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Pay go village kay	1	.3	.3
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Pema kyopa	1	.3	.3
		Total	298	99.0	100.0
	Missing	System	3	1.0	
	Total		301	100.0	

Table A2.6 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Bhutan section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Bhutan section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Bhutan		Tibetan, Hindi, English	1	12.5	12.5
		Tibetan, Hindi, Bhutanese	2	25.0	25.0
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Bhutanese	3	37.5	37.5
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Bhutanese, Nepali	2	25.0	25.0
		Total	8	100.0	100.0
	Missing	System	0	0.0	
	Total		8	100.0	

Table A2.7 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from USA section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from USA section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
USA		Tibetan, English	1	50.0	50.0
		Tibetan, English, Chinese	1	50.0	50.0
		Total	2	100.0	100.0
	Missing	System	0	0.0	
	Total		2	100.0	

Table A2.8 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Germany section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Germany section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Germany		Tibetan, English, German	1	100.0	100.0
		Total	1	100.0	100.0
	Missing	System	0	0.0	
	Total		1	100.0	

Table A2.9 QS informant responses regarding language varieties spoken from Missing cases section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Missing cases section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Missing cases		Tibetan, Hindi, English	4	33.3	57.1
		Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	1	8.3	14.3
		Tibetan, English	1	8.3	14.3
		Tibetan, English, Chinese	1	8.3	14.3
		Total	7	58.3	100.0
	Missing	System	5	41.7	
	Total		12	100.0	

Table A2.10 QS informant responses regarding the number of language varieties in spoken repertoires categorised by place of birth

			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Amdo	Valid	1 language variety	27	28.7	29.3	29.3
		2 language varieties	28	29.8	30.4	59.8
		3 language varieties	22	23.4	23.9	83.7
		4 language varieties	15	16.0	16.3	100.0
		Total	92	97.9	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	2.1		
	Total		94	100.0		
Kham	Valid	1 language variety	66	29.2	30.0	30.0
		2 language varieties	48	21.2	21.8	51.8
		3 language varieties	77	34.1	35.0	86.8
		4 language varieties	27	11.9	12.3	99.1
		5 language varieties	1	.4	.5	99.5
		6 language varieties	1	.4	.5	100.0
		Total	220	97.3	100.0	
	Missing	System	6	2.7		
	Total		226	100.0		
Utsang	Valid	1 language variety	32	22.9	23.5	23.5
		2 language varieties	26	18.6	19.1	42.6
		3 language varieties	53	37.9	39.0	81.6
		4 language varieties	24	17.1	17.6	99.3
		5 language varieties	1	.7	.7	100.0
		Total	136	97.1	100.0	
	Missing	System	4	2.9		
	Total		140	100.0		
India	Valid	1 language variety	26	8.6	8.7	8.7
		2 language varieties	23	7.6	7.7	16.4
		3 language varieties	203	67.4	68.1	84.6
		4 language varieties	44	14.6	14.8	99.3
		5 language varieties	2	.7	.7	100.0
		Total	298	99.0	100.0	
	Missing	System	3	1.0		
	Total		301	100.0		

Table A2.11 Descriptive statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of language varieties in spoken repertoires categorised by place of birth

Question 3: Where were you born?		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Amdo	Number of language varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	92	1.00	4.00	2.2717	1.05979
	Valid N (listwise)	92				
Kham	Number of language varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	220	1.00	6.00	2.3273	1.07363
	Valid N (listwise)	220				
Utsang	Number of language varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	136	1.00	5.00	2.5294	1.06069
	Valid N (listwise)	136				
India	Number of language varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	298	1.00	5.00	2.9094	.77101
	Valid N (listwise)	298				

Table A2.12 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Germany section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Germany section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Germany	Utsang kay	1	100.0	100.0
	Total	1	100.0	100.0
Missing	System	0	0.0	
Total		1	100.0	

Table A2.13 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Missing cases section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Missing cases section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Missing cases	Utsang kay	1	8.3	20.0
	Utsang, Shejak kay	2	16.7	40.0
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak kay	1	8.3	20.0
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	1	8.3	20.0
	Total	5	41.7	100.0
Missing	System	7	58.3	
Total		12	100.0	

Table A2.14 Interview informant responses regarding language varieties spoken

Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Responses	Frequency	percentage
Tibetan, English, Chinese	7	12.5	Tibetan, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan, Chinese, English	6	10.7	Tibetan, Chinese, English, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan, English and Hindi	4	7.1	Shejak, Tibetan, English, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan but not a very fine one, Hindi, English	4	7.1	Tibetan, Chinese and English, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan	3	5.3	Tibetan, Amdo mostly, Chinese, Nepali, English, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan, Chinese and English a little	3	5.3	Tibetan, English, Hindi – no order	1	1.8
Tibetan, English, Chinese, Hindi	3	5.3	Utsang, Hindi, Ladakhi, English	1	1.8
Tibetan, Ladakhi	3	5.3	Shejak and Kham skad	1	1.8
Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese	2	3.6	Utsang Tibetan, English, Hindi, Nepali, Kannada	1	1.8
Tibetan, English	2	3.6	Shejak skad, English and Hindi, Nepali	1	1.8
Tibetan, English, Hindi	2	3.6	Hindi, Tibetan, English	1	1.8
Tibetan, English, Hindi, Chinese	1	1.8	Tibetan, Nepali, Hindi	1	1.8
Tibetan, English, Hindi, and a little Nepali	1	1.8	Tibetan, English, Chinese, German, Japanese, French	1	1.8
			Amdo, Tibetan, English, Chinese	1	1.8
Tibetan and Chinese the same, English and Hindi the same but just a little	1	1.8			
			Total	56	100.0

Table A2.15 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Utsang section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Utsang section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Utsang		Utsang kay	57	40.7	41.3
		Shejak kay	5	3.6	3.6
		Utsang, Shejak kay	34	24.3	24.6
		Utsang, Kham, Shejak kay	11	7.9	8.0
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo kay	1	.7	.7
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	14	10.0	10.1
		Utsang, Amdo, Shejak kay	1	.7	.7
		Utsang, Kham kay	6	4.3	4.3
		Utsang, Shejak, Ngari kay from Utsang	2	1.4	1.4
		Utsang, Amdo kay	2	1.4	1.4
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo Shejak, Bodhgaya kay	1	.7	.7
		Utsang, Lhasa kay	1	.7	.7
		Shejak, Do kay from Utsang	1	.7	.7
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay and Mondangwa from India	1	.7	.7
		Shejak, Lhasa kay	1	.7	.7
		Total	138	98.6	100.0
	Missing	System	2	1.4	
	Total		140	100.0	

Table A2.16 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from USA section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from USA section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
USA		Utsang and Shejak kay	1	50.0	50.0
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	1	50.0	50.0
		Total	2	100.0	100.0
	Missing	System	0	0.0	
	Total		2	100.0	

Table A2.17 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Amdo section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Amdo section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Amdo		Utsang kay	2	2.1	2.2
		Amdo kay	25	26.6	26.9
		Shejak kay	4	4.3	4.3
		Utsang, Shejak kay	3	3.2	3.2
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo kay	4	4.3	4.3
		Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	13	13.8	14.0
		Utsang, Amdo, Shejak kay	23	24.5	24.7
		Utsang, Amdo kay	12	12.8	12.9
		Amdo, Shejak kay	6	6.4	6.5
		Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, Towo kay from Amdo	1	1.1	1.1
		Total	93	98.9	100.0
	Missing	System	1	1.1	
	Total		94	100.0	

Table A2.18 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Bhutan section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Bhutan section			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Bhutan		Utsang kay	3	37.5	37.5
		Shejak kay	2	25.0	25.0
		Utsang, Shejak kay	3	37.5	37.5
		Total	8	100.0	100.0
	Missing	System	0	0.0	
	Total		8	100.0	

Table A2.19 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Nepal section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Nepal section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Nepal	Shejak kay	6	35.3	40.0
	Utsang, Shejak kay	5	29.4	33.3
	Utsang, Shejak, Ngari kay from Utsang	1	5.9	6.7
	Shejak kay, Nepali	2	11.8	13.3
	TCV kay	1	5.9	6.7
	Total	15	88.2	100.0
Missing	System	2	11.8	
Total		17	100.0	

Table A2.20 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from Kham section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from Kham section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Kham	Utsang kay	7	3.1	3.1
	Kham kay	54	23.9	24.2
	Amdo kay	2	.9	.9
	Shejak kay	12	5.3	5.4
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak kay	40	17.7	17.9
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo kay	13	5.8	5.8
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	45	19.9	20.2
	Utsang, Kham kay	36	15.9	16.1
	Kham, Shejak kay	5	2.2	2.2
	Utsang, Kham, Lhasa kay	1	.4	.4
	Kham, Dawo kay	1	.4	.4
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, Nangchen kay from Kham	1	.4	.4
	Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	1	.4	.4
	Ganze kay	1	.4	.4
	Kham, Amdo kay	2	.9	.9
	Kham, Ganze kay	1	.4	.4
	Shejak, Kay lug lay	1	.4	.4
	Total	223	98.9	100.0
Missing	System	3	1.1	
Total		226	100.0	

Table A2.21 QS informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken from India section categorised by place of birth

QS informant responses from India section		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
India	Utsang kay	37	12.3	12.7
	Kham kay	1	.3	.3
	Shejak kay	110	36.5	37.8
	Utsang, Shejak kay	102	33.9	35.1
	Utsang, Shejak kay, Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak kay	13	4.3	4.5
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak kay	4	1.3	1.4
	Utsang, Kham kay	2	.7	.7
	Utsang, Shejak, Ngari kay from Utsang	1	.3	.3
	Amdo, Shejak kay	1	.3	.3
	Kham, Shejak kay	7	2.3	2.4
	Shejak kay, Nepali	1	.3	.3
	Shejak, Pay mako kay	1	.3	.3
	Utsang kay, Ladakhi	2	.7	.7
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo kay, Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
	Shejak, Tibetan Orissa kay	1	.3	.3
	Utsang kay, Nepali,	1	.3	.3
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo kay, Nepali,	1	.3	.3
	Refugee kay,	1	.3	.3
	Shejak kay, Ladakhi	1	.3	.3
	Utsang, Gatrong kay	1	.3	.3
	Tibetan	1	.3	.3
	Total	291	96.7	100.0
Missing	System	10	3.3	
Total		301	100.0	

Table A2.22 Descriptive Statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties in spoken repertoires categorised by place of birth

		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Amdo	Number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repoertoires	93	1.00	4.00	2.2796	1.04638
	Valid N (listwise)	93				
Kham	Number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repoertoires	223	1.00	4.00	2.3184	1.14765
	Valid N (listwise)	223				
Utsang	Number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repoertoires	138	1.00	5.00	1.8986	1.02729
	Valid N (listwise)	138				
India	Number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repoertoires	291	1.00	4.00	1.5498	.66444
	Valid N (listwise)	291				

Table A2.23 QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties in spoken repertoires categorised by place of birth

Question 3: Where were you born?			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Amdo	Valid	1 variety	27	28.7	29.0	29.0
		2 varieties	27	28.7	29.0	58.1
		3 varieties	25	26.6	26.9	84.9
		4 varieties	14	14.9	15.1	100.0
		Total	93	98.9	100.0	
	Missing	System	1	1.1		
	Total		94	100.0		
Kham	Valid	1 variety	76	33.6	34.1	34.1
		2 varieties	46	20.4	20.6	54.7
		3 varieties	55	24.3	24.7	79.4
		4 varieties	46	20.4	20.6	100.0
		Total	223	98.7	100.0	
	Missing	System	3	1.3		
	Total		226	100.0		
Utsang	Valid	1 variety	62	44.3	44.9	44.9
		2 varieties	45	32.1	32.6	77.5
		3 varieties	15	10.7	10.9	88.4
		4 varieties	15	10.7	10.9	99.3
		5 varieties	1	.7	.7	100.0
		Total	138	98.6	100.0	
	Missing	System	2	1.4		
	Total		140	100.0		
India	Valid	1 variety	155	51.5	53.3	53.3
		2 varieties	116	38.5	39.9	93.1
		3 varieties	16	5.3	5.5	98.6
		4 varieties	4	1.3	1.4	100.0
		Total	291	96.7	100.0	
	Missing	System	10	3.3		
	Total		301	100.0		

Table A2.24 Interview informant responses regarding Tibetic varieties spoken

Responses	Frequency	Percentage	Responses	Frequency	Percentage
Amdo, Kham, Utsang	7	12.5	Amdo and can understand Kham, Utsang, Shejak	1	1.8
Utsang and can understand Amdo and Kham	4	7.1	Labrang, Amdo	1	1.8
Utsang, Kham and can understand Amdo	3	5.3	Amdo, Kham, Utsang, Daywong, Amdo Golo and can understand Shejak	1	1.8
Amdo, Kham, Utsang and can understand Shejak	3	5.3	Shejak, Utsang	1	1.8
Shejak	3	5.3	Can understand Amdo, Kham, Utsang	1	1.8
Utsang	3	5.3	Utsang, shejak and can understand Amdo and Kham	1	1.8
Amdo, Kham, Utsang, Shejak	2	3.6	Local Tibetan (shejak) aristocratic Tibetan	1	1.8
Utsang, Amdo, and can understand Kham and Shejak	2	3.6	Amdo, Utsang, zo	1	1.8
Kham, Utsang	2	3.6	Lhasa and can understand Shegatse and Kham	1	1.8
Amdo, Shejak, and can understand Kham, Utsang	2	3.6	Kham, Utsang, Shejak	1	1.8
Shejak, Lhasa, Dege and can understand Amdo	2	3.6	Amdo, Kham, Utsang, Shejak, Dege	1	1.8
Utsang and can understand Amdo, Kham, Shejak	1	1.8	Amdo, Shejak, Lhasa and can understand Kham	1	1.8
Utsang and can understand all including Shejak	1	1.8	Utsang, Dawo and can understand most Tibetic varieties	1	1.8
			Amdo, Kham, Utsang, Chamdo	1	1.8
Shejak and can understand Amdo, Kham, Utsang	1	1.8	Amdo, Utsang, Shejak and can understand Kham	1	1.8
	1	1.8	Utsang, Kham, Ortok	1	1.8
Amdo Ngawa and can understand Amdo, Kham, Utsang	1	1.8	Utsang, Shejak, Yushu	1	1.8
Lhasa and can understand other Tibetic varieties	1	1.8			
			Total	56	100.0

Table A2.25 QS informant responses regarding Linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Utsang	24	3.0
	Kham	7	.9
	Amdo	6	.7
	Shejak	7	.9
	English	2	.2
	Hindi	3	.4
	Chinese	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi	52	6.5
	Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi	113	14.1
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese	10	1.2
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, English, Hindi, Chinese	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak	43	5.4
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Ladakhi U skad	3	.4
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English	17	2.1
	Utsang, Amdo, Shejak	10	1.2
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi	67	8.4
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, Hindi	5	.6
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Chinese	44	5.5
	Utsang, English, Hindi	14	1.7
	Utsang, Shejak, Hindi	9	1.1
	Shejak, English, Hindi	39	4.9
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese	41	5.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, Hindi	9	1.1
	Utsang, Hindi	2	.2
	Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali	4	.5
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali, Himalaya	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, Chinese	17	2.1
	Utsang, Hindi, Bhutanese	1	.1
	Amdo, Shejak, Chinese	1	.1
	Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Lowa skad	2	.2
	English, Hindi	7	.9
	Amdo, Shejak, Hindi	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Japanese	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, Hindi, Chinese	5	.6
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali	4	.5
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali	3	.4
	Utsang, Shejak, English	7	.9
	Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Ladakhi	4	.5
	Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese	5	.6
	Utsang, Kham, Korean	1	.1
	Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali	9	1.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Nepali	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, English, Hindi	4	.5
	Utsang, Shejak, Hindi, Nepali	1	.1
	Utsang, Shejak, Chinese	1	.1
	English, German	1	.1
	Kham, Chinese	2	.2
	Utsang, Kham, Shejak, Chinese	10	1.2
	Utsang, Kham, Chinese	8	1.0
	Utsang, Kham, English, Chinese	4	.5
	Utsang, Shejak, Ladakhi	1	.1
	Utsang, Ladakhi	2	.2

Utsang, Shejak, Hindi, Ladakhi	1	.1
Utsang, English, Hindi, Ladakhi	3	.4
Utsang, Shejak	3	.4
Shejak, English, Hindi, Tibetan Orissa skad	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, English, Chinese	1	.1
Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi	9	1.1
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, French	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Bhutanese	1	.1
Kham, Amdo	1	.1
Shejak, Hindi	4	.5
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi	8	1.0
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, English, Hindi	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Bhutanese, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Ladakhi	2	.2
Utsang, English, Hindi, Chinese, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo	5	.6
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Bhutanese, Nepali	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, Shejak, Hindi, Chinese	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, Hindi, Chinese	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Shejak	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Hindi	1	.1
Utsang, Kham	18	2.2
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, English, Chinese	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, English, Hindi, Chinese	1	.1
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English, Chinese	3	.4
Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi	2	.2
Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Dawo skad	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Chinese	3	.4
Amdo, Shejak, English	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English	3	.4
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Spiti	1	.1
Shejak, English, Hindi, Spiti, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, English, Hindi, Gatrong	1	.1
Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Korean	1	.1
Utsang, Amdo, English, Hindi	2	.2
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English	1	.1
Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English, Hindi, Ladakhi	1	.1
English, Hindi, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Shejak, English, Hindi, Bhutanese, Nepali	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, Amdo Shejak, English, Chinese, Dawo skad	1	.1
Utsang, Amdo, English, Chinese	2	.2
Kham, Ganze skad	1	.1
Utsang, Kham, English	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, Shejak, English	2	.2
Utsang, Kham, Amdo, English	2	.2
Kham, Amdo, Chinese	3	.4
Kham, English	1	.1
Utsang, Chinese	3	.4
Utsang, Kham, Shejak	3	.4
Utsang, Amdo	2	.2

	Amdo, English	1	.1
	Utsang, Amdo, Chinese	3	.4
	Utsang, Amdo, Shejak, Chinese	2	.2
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Chinese	4	.5
	Utsang, Kham, Hindi	1	.1
	Utsang, Kham, Amdo, Shejak, English, Hindi, Chinese, Nepali	1	.1
	Total	771	96.3
Missing	System	30	3.7
Total		801	100.0

Table A2.26 QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties comprehended

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 linguistic variety	133	16.6	17.3	17.3
	2 linguistic varieties	140	17.5	18.2	35.4
	3 linguistic varieties	389	48.6	50.5	85.9
	4 linguistic varieties	95	11.9	12.3	98.2
	5 linguistic varieties	14	1.7	1.8	100.0
	Total	771	96.3	100.0	
Missing	System	30	3.7		
Total		801	100.0		

Table A.2.27 Descriptive Statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties comprehended

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	771	1.00	5.00	2.6329	.96640
Valid N (listwise)	771				

Table A2.28 QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1 variety	126	15.7	16.7	16.7
	2 varieties	223	27.8	29.5	46.2
	3 varieties	150	18.7	19.8	66.0
	4 varieties	254	31.7	33.6	99.6
	5 varieties	3	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	756	94.4	100.0	
Missing	System	45	5.6		
Total		801	100.0		

Table A2.29 Descriptive Statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	756	1.00	5.00	2.7156	1.11097
Valid N (listwise)	756				

Table A2.30 QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties comprehended categorised by place of birth

			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Amdo	Valid	1 linguistic variety	25	26.6	27.8	27.8
		2 linguistic varieties	21	22.3	23.3	51.1
		3 linguistic varieties	35	37.2	38.9	90.0
		4 linguistic varieties	9	9.6	10.0	100.0
		Total	90	95.7	100.0	
	Missing	System	4	4.3		
	Total		94	100.0		
Kham	Valid	1 linguistic variety	54	23.9	24.7	24.7
		2 linguistic varieties	61	27.0	27.9	52.5
		3 linguistic varieties	75	33.2	34.2	86.8
		4 linguistic varieties	26	11.5	11.9	98.6
		5 linguistic varieties	3	1.3	1.4	100.0
		Total	219	96.9	100.0	
	Missing	System	7	3.1		
	Total		226	100.0		
Utsang	Valid	1 linguistic variety	30	21.4	22.1	22.1
		2 linguistic varieties	26	18.6	19.1	41.2
		3 linguistic varieties	54	38.6	39.7	80.9
		4 linguistic varieties	24	17.1	17.6	98.5
		5 linguistic varieties	2	1.4	1.5	100.0
		Total	136	97.1	100.0	
	Missing	System	4	2.9		
	Total		140	100.0		
India	Valid	1 linguistic variety	24	8.0	8.2	8.2
		2 linguistic varieties	25	8.3	8.5	16.7
		3 linguistic varieties	213	70.8	72.7	89.4
		4 linguistic varieties	27	9.0	9.2	98.6
		5 linguistic varieties	4	1.3	1.4	100.0
		Total	293	97.3	100.0	
	Missing	System	8	2.7		
	Total		301	100.0		

Table A2.31 Descriptive Statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of linguistic varieties comprehended categorised by place of birth

		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Amdo	Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	90	1.00	4.00	2.3111	.99034
	Valid N (listwise)	90				
Kham	Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	219	1.00	5.00	2.3744	1.02558
	Valid N (listwise)	219				
Utsang	Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	136	1.00	5.00	2.5735	1.06550
	Valid N (listwise)	136				
India	Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	293	1.00	5.00	2.8703	.73808
	Valid N (listwise)	293				

Table A2.32 Descriptive Statistics of QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended categorised by place of birth

		N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Amdo	Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	90	1.00	4.00	3.0667	1.05788
	Valid N (listwise)	90				
Kham	Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	218	1.00	5.00	3.2018	.99102
	Valid N (listwise)	218				
Utsang	Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	136	1.00	4.00	2.7279	1.17673
	Valid N (listwise)	136				
India	Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	283	1.00	5.00	2.2580	.99319
	Valid N (listwise)	283				

Table A2.33 QS informant responses regarding the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended categorised by place of birth

			Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Amdo	Valid	1 variety	11	11.7	12.2	12.2
		2 varieties	14	14.9	15.6	27.8
		3 varieties	23	24.5	25.6	53.3
		4 varieties	42	44.7	46.7	100.0
		Total	90	95.7	100.0	
	Missing	System	4	4.3		
	Total		94	100.0		
Kham	Valid	1 variety	18	8.0	8.3	8.3
		2 varieties	34	15.0	15.6	23.9
		3 varieties	53	23.5	24.3	48.2
		4 varieties	112	49.6	51.4	99.5
		5 varieties	1	.4	.5	100.0
		Total	218	96.5	100.0	
	Missing	System	8	3.5		
	Total		226	100.0		
Utsang	Valid	1 variety	27	19.3	19.9	19.9
		2 varieties	36	25.7	26.5	46.3
		3 varieties	20	14.3	14.7	61.0
		4 varieties	53	37.9	39.0	100.0
		Total	136	97.1	100.0	
	Missing	System	4	2.9		
	Total		140	100.0		
India	Valid	1 variety	64	21.3	22.6	22.6
		2 varieties	128	42.5	45.2	67.8
		3 varieties	47	15.6	16.6	84.5
		4 varieties	42	14.0	14.8	99.3
		5 varieties	2	.7	.7	100.0
		Total	283	94.0	100.0	
	Missing	System	18	6.0		
	Total		301	100.0		

Table A2.34 Correlation results between the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and sex using Spearman's rho

Number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and sex	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	768	-.021	.568
Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	753	-.118**	.001

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.35 Correlation results between the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and age using Spearman's rho

Number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	718	-.086*	.022
Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	703	.235**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.36 Correlation results between the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires using Spearman's rho

Number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	762	.710**	.000
Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	748	.039	.287

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.37 Correlation results between the number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires using Spearman's rho

Number of linguistic and Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Number of linguistic varieties comprehended	759	.153**	.000
Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	748	.491**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.38 Correlation results between the number of linguistic varieties comprehended and place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

Number of linguistic varieties comprehended and place of birth	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	765	-.118**	.001
Kham	765	-.176**	.000
Utsang	765	-.022	.548
India	765	.203	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.39 Correlation results between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

Number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and place of birth	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	750	.118**	.001
Kham	750	.282**	.000
Utsang	750	.009	.813
India	750	-.324**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.40 Correlation results between the number of linguistic varieties comprehended and the number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	89	.720**	.000
Kham	216	.742**	.000
Utsang	134	.700**	.000
India	291	.547**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.41 Correlation results between the number of linguistic varieties comprehended and the number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	90	.350**	.001
Kham	218	.320**	.000
Utsang	136	.238**	.005
India	284	.180**	.002

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.42 Correlation results between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and sex within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	218	-.162*	.017

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.43 Correlation results between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and age within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	81	.353**	.001
Kham	200	.172*	.015
India	273	.216**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.44 Correlation results between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of linguistic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	215	.232**	.001
India	282	.208**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.45 Correlation results between the number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and the number of Tibetic varieties in informants' spoken repertoires within the place of birth categorisation using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	90	.582**	.000
Kham	217	.482**	.000
Utsang	134	.305**	.000
India	277	.418**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.46 Correlation results between age and Question 14 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 14: I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak and age	691	.131**	.001

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.47 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 14 (I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 14 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	726	.155**	.000
Question 14 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	713	.258**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.48 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 14 using Spearman's rho

Question 14: I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	732	.068	.064
Kham	732	.162**	.000
Utsang	732	-.027	.458
India	732	-.146**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.49 Correlation results between age and question 14 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 14: I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	72	.279*	.018
Kham	193	.162*	.024

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.50 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and question 14 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 14: I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	81	.222*	.047

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.51 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 14 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 14: I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	79	.291**	.009
India	272	.229**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.52 Correlation results between age and Question 16 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 16: I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own and age	700	.151**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.53 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 16 (I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 16 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	733	.068	.065
Question 16 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	719	.215**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.54 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 16 using Spearman's rho

Question 16: I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	740	-.002	.959
Kham	740	.083*	.023
Utsang	740	.010	.790
India	740	-.071	.053

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A2.55 Correlation results between age and question 16 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 16: I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	195	.304**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A.256 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 16 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 16: I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	205	.332**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 3: Further information regarding the data for chapter six

Table A3.1 Descriptive statistics for the intelligent trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	2.9487	1.34306
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1859	1.14613
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1603	1.23130
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.0256	1.16369
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3846	1.37001
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.7756	1.44389
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5321	1.30715
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2308	1.28939
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.2 Descriptive statistics for the sharp minded trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.00	6.00	3.3654	1.13072
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.5192	1.16104
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6795	1.26994
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.2179	1.04292
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.3782	1.06161
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2500	1.12809
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	2.00	7.00	3.5513	1.11468
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4615	1.13242
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.3 Descriptive statistics for the educated trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3141	1.35268
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4872	1.33193
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.0769	1.22626
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.0385	1.20689
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.7244	1.45280
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8462	1.37795
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1154	1.36765
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3013	1.34606
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.4 Descriptive statistics for the intelligent trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.2941	3.2857	3.0476	2.7547
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.8235	2.9410	3.1190	3.4717
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.9412	3.2143	3.3095	3.0000
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.1176	3.0952	2.3333	3.4528
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.2353	3.2857	3.4048	3.8113
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	3.2941	3.6667	3.6429	4.0566
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.0588	3.3333	3.7381	3.6604
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.0588	3.0476	3.0479	3.5472
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.5 Descriptive statistics for the sharp minded trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.7059	2.9286	3.4524	3.8113
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.4118	2.9048	3.7619	3.8113
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	4.2941	4.1429	3.6905	3.1132
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.9412	3.0476	2.8571	3.7170
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.7647	3.1429	3.5952	3.5472
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.8235	3.0000	3.0476	3.6981
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.6471	3.5714	3.7619	3.3019
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.4706	3.7857	3.0000	3.5472
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.6 Descriptive statistics for the educated trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	3.1765	3.3571	3.1190	3.4340
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.2353	3.3810	3.6429	3.4528
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.8824	2.9524	3.3810	2.9623
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.3529	3.3529	2.8333	3.2830
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.4118	3.7381	3.7619	4.0189
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	3.8235	3.5714	3.6429	4.1698
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	2.0588	2.6667	3.6429	3.3359
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.8235	3.0952	3.4048	3.5283
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.7 Descriptive statistics for the trustworthy trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4103	1.20682
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.3718	1.18712
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.00	7.00	4.2051	1.29375
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5128	1.25717
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1795	1.10417
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1731	1.24519
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8846	1.44562
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1474	1.34310
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.8 Descriptive statistics for the honest trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2115	1.15847
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1410	1.05616
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	4.3141	1.29418
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4679	1.16630
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1538	1.12539
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1026	1.22437
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.9167	1.29992
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1987	1.36981
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.9 Descriptive statistics for the trustworthy trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.3529	2.9286	3.7143	3.8491
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.0588	2.6190	3.4762	3.9245
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	4.0588	4.5952	4.7143	3.5472
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.5882	4.2857	2.7143	3.4717
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.9412	3.3810	3.1667	3.3962
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.5294	2.7619	3.5476	3.4151
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.6471	4.0000	4.3333	3.5094
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.2353	2.7857	3.3571	3.5283
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.10 Descriptive statistics for the honest trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.2941	2.7381	3.5714	3.6226
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.9412	2.8333	2.9524	3.5660
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	4.4706	4.5952	4.7619	3.6792
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.5294	4.0952	3.0000	3.2830
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.1765	2.8810	3.1429	3.6415
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.9412	2.6190	3.0476	3.5283
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	4.0000	4.1190	3.9762	3.6604
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.0000	3.4048	3.3810	3.2453
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.11 Descriptive statistics for the polite trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4359	1.32558
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5705	1.27057
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.00	7.00	4.0641	1.13978
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	2.9615	1.10649
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5962	1.17379
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4423	1.17083
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5513	1.30653
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3077	1.24235
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.12 Descriptive statistics for the respectful trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4167	1.24930
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1410	1.31222
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	4.0128	1.40500
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1474	1.07646
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.0897	1.32164
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3462	1.35196
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4487	1.36450
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.0577	1.37367
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.13 Descriptive statistics for the rude trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.7885	1.45029
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8269	1.33036
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4295	1.22402
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.00	7.00	4.0577	1.41531
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6154	1.36056
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	2.9615	1.28958
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2885	1.33445
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6731	1.09641
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.14 Descriptive statistics for the polite trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.9412	3.3571	3.5238	3.5472
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.2253	3.4048	3.7857	3.6038
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	4.0000	4.5238	4.3810	3.4528
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.6471	2.9286	2.6429	3.2830
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.6471	3.3571	3.7143	3.8491
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.4118	3.3333	3.4286	3.8679
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	2.5294	3.5952	4.3095	3.2453
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.5882	3.2857	3.2619	3.5660
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.15 Descriptive statistics for the respectful trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.6471	3.4048	3.7143	3.4528
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.0000	2.7143	3.6667	3.4151
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	3.6471	4.8571	4.2143	3.2453
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.5294	3.0000	3.2143	3.3962
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.7647	3.1429	3.0952	3.4151
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	3.3529	3.0000	3.2619	3.6415
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.0000	3.5714	3.7381	3.2453
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.1176	3.3095	2.7857	3.3396
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.16 Descriptive statistics for the rude trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	4.7647	3.8095	3.3571	3.8302
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.2941	4.0000	3.9524	3.6981
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.6471	3.2619	3.5952	3.6604
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.6471	4.1905	4.9048	3.4340
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	4.9412	3.7381	3.1190	3.4906
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.2941	2.7857	2.8810	3.3774
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	2.7647	2.6667	3.6925	3.6226
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	2.8235	4.1190	3.7857	3.4528
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.17 Descriptive statistics for the hardworking trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1987	1.30715
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	2.9551	1.18780
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.00	7.00	4.2692	1.34570
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5962	1.31384
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.2564	1.22275
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5256	1.39330
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.9167	1.45451
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.7756	1.32263
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.18 Descriptive statistics for the successful trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8013	1.37451
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	4.0256	1.36759
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3974	1.30843
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4487	1.28161
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4744	1.18838
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3141	1.26901
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.3013	1.12117
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.6987	1.21507
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.19 Descriptive statistics for the wealthy trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8654	1.34446
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5192	1.37005
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1731	1.19225
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2692	1.19863
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8462	1.46861
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.9551	1.55478
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6923	1.34220
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.7244	1.40310
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.20 Descriptive statistics for the hardworking trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	3.2353	3.2143	3.1667	3.1887
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.2941	2.7619	2.8333	3.3774
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	4.0000	5.0238	4.3333	3.6604
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.2941	4.4048	3.1190	3.3962
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.0588	3.2619	3.4286	3.4340
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.4706	3.5238	3.5476	3.8113
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.1176	4.0714	4.3333	3.7170
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.2353	4.5714	3.3333	3.6604
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.21 Descriptive statistics for the successful trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	4.0000	4.1429	3.5952	3.5660
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.7647	3.9762	4.0714	4.0566
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.8235	3.9524	3.4524	3.0755
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.0588	3.5952	3.2619	3.5660
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.9412	3.7857	3.0238	3.7170
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.1765	3.1429	3.5238	3.6038
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.3529	3.3810	3.5000	3.0566
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.8235	4.1190	3.2381	3.6792
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.22 Descriptive statistics for the wealthy trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	4.1765	4.0000	4.1429	3.3774
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.1765	3.5238	3.6429	3.4906
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.8235	3.4524	3.3571	2.8868
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.2941	3.5238	3.0714	3.2075
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	4.0000	3.5714	3.7857	4.0377
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	3.8235	3.1667	3.9524	4.6038
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.5294	4.3095	3.5476	3.3585
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.1765	4.4524	3.5000	3.4906
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.23 Descriptive statistics for the likeable trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1538	1.19220
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.1346	1.22914
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3462	1.26824
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4679	1.13831
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.2628	1.17562
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2821	1.31392
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5385	1.36493
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.8526	1.25880
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.24 Descriptive statistics for the friendly trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.3333	1.15470
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3141	1.30905
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5385	1.26687
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4551	1.14915
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1667	1.15749
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4231	1.20771
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5000	1.34644
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4231	1.26000
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.25 Descriptive statistics for the kind trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.1474	1.12911
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.0769	1.16141
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.0962	1.21166
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.3013	1.15518
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3013	1.23612
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.4551	1.34569
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6987	1.37451
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.6923	1.25269
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.26 Descriptive statistics for the helpful trait rating for audio 1 and 2

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.5000	1.23654
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3974	1.34250
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.2949	1.14282
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4679	1.20974
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.00	6.00	2.9808	1.18306
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	1.00	7.00	3.3974	1.33769
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	2.00	7.00	3.9295	1.28069
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	1.00	6.00	3.4359	1.24527
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.27 Descriptive statistics for the likeable trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.3529	2.7857	3.5000	3.3774
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.2353	2.6905	3.2619	3.6226
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	3.2353	3.3571	3.6190	3.1132
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.3529	3.5952	2.8333	3.8679
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.1765	3.1190	3.3333	3.6226
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.5294	2.5000	3.6429	3.8113
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.0000	3.2381	3.8810	3.6604
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.6471	3.5714	3.7381	4.2264
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.28 Descriptive statistics for the friendly trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.1765	2.9048	3.6667	3.7547
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.6471	2.6190	3.6905	3.7358
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	2.5882	3.4286	3.9048	3.6038
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.3529	3.2857	3.3810	3.6604
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.4118	2.9048	3.2857	3.4717
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.9412	3.1429	3.5238	3.6792
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.3529	3.5238	3.4762	3.5094
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.5294	3.2857	2.9286	3.8302
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.29 Descriptive statistics for the kind trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.3529	2.6190	3.4048	3.5660
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	2.2353	2.3571	3.3095	3.6981
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	3.1176	3.0476	3.2857	2.9434
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	3.4706	3.4524	2.7381	3.5283
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	2.1176	3.4524	3.3810	3.4528
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	3.2353	2.7143	3.7143	3.8679
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	3.2353	3.7143	3.9762	3.6038
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.1765	3.9762	3.6190	3.6792
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.30 Descriptive statistics for the helpful trait rating for audio 1 and 2 categorised by place of birth

	N	Amdo	Kham	Utsang	India
Audio 1 Amdo speaker	156	2.4706	3.0476	3.7619	3.9434
Audio 1 Kham speaker	156	3.1765	2.6667	3.8333	3.6792
Audio 1 Shejak speaker	156	3.1765	3.0952	3.6190	3.1887
Audio 1 Utsang speaker	156	2.9412	3.3333	3.3333	3.8113
Audio 2 Amdo speaker	156	1.7059	2.6667	3.1429	3.4528
Audio 2 Kham speaker	156	2.8824	2.9524	3.2857	3.9623
Audio 2 Shejak speaker	156	4.2941	4.1429	4.4524	3.2264
Audio 2 Utsang speaker	156	3.1176	3.4286	2.8810	3.9623
Valid N (listwise)	156				

Table A3.31 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the intelligent trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and intelligent trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	.160*	.046

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.32 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the intelligent trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and intelligent trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	.162*	.043
Utsang speaker audio 1 and intelligent trait	156	.252**	.001
Amdo speaker audio 2 and intelligent trait	156	.203*	.011
Utsang speaker audio 2 and intelligent trait	156	.193*	.016

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.33 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	.182*	.023

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.34 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	-.224**	.005
Shejak speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	.202*	.011

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.35 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the sharp minded trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and sharp minded trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	.282**	.000
Kham speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	.177*	.027
Utsang speaker audio 1 and sharp minded trait	156	.314**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and sharp minded trait	156	.264**	.001

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.36 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the educated trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and educated trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and educated trait	156	-.200*	.012
Shejak speaker audio 2 and educated trait	156	-.289**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.37 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the educated trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and educated trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and educated trait	156	-.193*	.016

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.38 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the educated trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and educated trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and educated trait	156	.239**	.003

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.39 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the educated trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and educated trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 2 and educated trait	156	.176*	.028

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.40 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.184*	.022
Utsang speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.243**	.002

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.41 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	-.240**	.003
Shejak speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.186*	.020
Utsang speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.349**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	-.186*	.020

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.42 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.165*	.039
Shejak speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.238**	.003
Kham speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	.194*	.015
Shejak speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	.192*	.016

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.43 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the trustworthy trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and trustworthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.259**	.001
Kham speaker audio 1 and trustworthy trait	156	.302**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and trustworthy trait	156	.214**	.007

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.44 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	-.322**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.45 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	-.239**	.003
Utsang speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	.304**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.46 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	.196*	.014
Shejak speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	.202*	.011

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.47 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the honest trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and honest trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	.251**	.002
Kham speaker audio 1 and honest trait	156	.264**	.001
Amdo speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	.313**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and honest trait	156	.226**	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.48 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	-.305**	.000
Shejak speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	-.280**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	-.196**	.014

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.49 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	.251**	.002

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.50 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	.174*	.030
Shejak speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	.342**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.51 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the polite trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and polite trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and polite trait	156	.199*	.013
Kham speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	.269**	.001
Utsang speaker audio 2 and polite trait	156	.158*	.049

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.52 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	-.311**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	-.202*	.011
Utsang speaker audio 2 and respectful trait	156	-.244**	.002

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.53 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	.372**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.54 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	.241**	.002

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.55 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the respectful trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and respectful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and respectful trait	156	.158*	.049
Amdo speaker audio 2 and respectful trait	156	.185*	.021

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.56 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and rude trait	156	-.208**	.009
Kham speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	-.176*	.028
Utsang speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	-.264**	.001

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.57 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	-.280**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	.229**	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.58 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and rude trait	156	-.180*	.025
Amdo speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	-.216**	.007
Shejak speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	.191*	.017

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.59 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the rude trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and rude trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Utsang speaker audio 1 and rude trait	156	-.309**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and rude trait	156	.210**	.009

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.60 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	-.191*	.017
Kham speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	-.270**	.001
Shejak speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	-.186*	.020

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.61 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	.344**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	.358**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and hardworking trait	156	.344**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.62 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	.167*	.037

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.63 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the hardworking trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and hardworking trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and hardworking trait	156	.227**	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.64 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and successful trait	156	-.161*	.045
Kham speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	-.317**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.65 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 1 and successful trait	156	.241**	.002
Utsang speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	.207**	.009

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.66 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	-.223**	.005

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.67 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the successful trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and successful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 2 and successful trait	156	.158*	.048

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.68 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the wealthy trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and wealthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Shejak speaker audio 2 and wealthy trait	156	.270**	.001
Utsang speaker audio 2 and wealthy trait	156	.313**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.69 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the wealthy trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and wealthy trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and wealthy trait	156	-.276**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and wealthy trait	156	.299**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.70 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	-.265**	.001
Kham speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	-.212**	.008

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.71 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	-.185*	.021

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.72 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	.171*	.033
Kham speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	.183*	.022
Shejak speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	.159*	.048

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.73 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the likeable trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and likeable trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	.323**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 1 and likeable trait	156	.239**	.003
Amdo speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	.259**	.001
Kham speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	.287**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and likeable trait	156	.221**	.005

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.74 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.194*	.015
Shejak speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.276**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.75 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	-.232**	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.76 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	.164*	.041
Kham speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	.171*	.033
Shejak speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	.165*	.039

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.77 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the friendly trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and friendly trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	.269**	.001
Kham speaker audio 1 and friendly trait	156	.241**	.002
Amdo speaker audio 2 and friendly trait	156	.176*	.028
Utsang speaker audio 2 and friendly trait	156	.233**	.003

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.78 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	-.259**	.001
Utsang speaker audio 2 and kind trait	156	-.158*	.049

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.79 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	-.284**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.80 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the kind trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and kind trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	.269**	.001
Kham speaker audio 1 and kind trait	156	.390**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and kind trait	156	.227**	.004

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.81 Correlation results between the Amdo place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding non-Amdo speakers using Spearman's rho

Amdo place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	-.265**	.001
Kham speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.212**	.008

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.82 Correlation results between the Kham place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding non-Kham speakers using Spearman's rho

Kham place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	-.218**	.006
Amdo speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	-.162*	.044

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.83 Correlation results between the Utsang place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding non-Utsang speakers using Spearman's rho

Utsang place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	.202*	.012
Shejak speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	.235**	.003

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.84 Correlation results between the India place of birth variable and the helpful trait regarding non-Shejak speakers using Spearman's rho

India place of birth variable and helpful trait	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	.264*	.001
Kham speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	.158*	.050
Utsang speaker audio 1 and helpful trait	156	.205*	.010
Amdo speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	.295**	.000
Kham speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	.293**	.000
Utsang speaker audio 2 and helpful trait	156	.314**	.000

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.85 Correlation results between sex and Question 15 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and sex	758	.123**	.001

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.86 Correlation results between age and Question 15 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and age	709	-.169**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.87 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 15 (Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 15 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	748	-.143**	.000
Question 15 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	732	-.228**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.88 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 15 using Spearman's rho

Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	754	-.092*	.011
Kham	754	-.160**	.000
Utsang	754	-.085*	.020
India	754	.254**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.89 Correlation results between sex and question 15 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and sex	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	292	.132*	.024

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.90 Correlation results between age and question 15 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	283	-.240**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.91 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and question 15 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	284	-.156**	.008

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.92 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 15 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 15: Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	212	-.149*	.030
India	277	-.169**	.005

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.93 Correlation results between sex and Question 10 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 10: Utsang kay spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan and sex	752	.083*	.023

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.94 Correlation results between age and Question 10 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 10: Utsang kay spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan and age	704	-.076*	.045

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.95 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 10 using Spearman's rho

Question 10: Utsang kay spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	748	-.170**	.000
Kham	748	-.067	.066
Utsang	748	.158**	.000
India	748	.044	.748

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.96 Correlation results between age and question 10 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 10: Utsang kay spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	80	-.306**	.006

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.97 Correlation results between sex and Question 11 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and sex	766	.100**	.006

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.98 Correlation results between age and Question 11 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and age	719	-.145**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.99 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 11 (Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 11 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	755	-.082*	.024
Question 11 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	740	-.138**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.100 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 11 using Spearman's rho

Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	761	-.045	.212
Kham	761	-.030	.411
Utsang	761	-.145**	.000
India	761	.148**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.101 Correlation results between sex and question 11 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and sex	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	217	.151*	.026
Utsang	132	.183*	.036

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.102 Correlation results between age and question 11 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and age	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	286	-.232**	000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.103 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and question 11 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	286	-.123*	.037

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.104 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 11 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 11: Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
India	280	-.150*	.012

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.105 Correlation results between sex and Question 13 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 13: People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language and sex	761	.103**	.005

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.106 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 13 (People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 13 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	751	-.153**	.000
Question 13 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	734	-.253**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.107 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 13 using Spearman's rho

Question 13: People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	757	-.131**	.000
Kham	757	-.212**	.000
Utsang	757	.071	.052
India	757	.206**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.108 Correlation results between sex and question 13 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 13: People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language and sex	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	214	.147*	.032
Utsang	133	.193*	.026

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.109 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 13 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 13: People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	87	-.287**	.007
Utsang	132	-.376**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.110 Correlation results between sex and Question 12 using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 12: I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language and sex	760	.080*	.027

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.111 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 12 (I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 12 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	750	-.086**	.000
Question 12 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	734	-.232**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.112 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 12 using Spearman's rho

Question 12: I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	757	-.015	.676
Kham	757	-.233**	.000
Utsang	757	.017	.649
India	757	.206**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.113 Correlation results between sex and question 12 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 12: I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language and sex	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	216	.222**	.001
Utsang	132	.183*	.036

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.114 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and question 12 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 12: I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	215	-.160*	.019

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.115 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 12 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 12: I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Kham	211	-.226**	.001
Utsang	129	-.358**	.000

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.116 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties spoken and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and Question 9 (All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other) using Spearman's rho

	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Question 9 and number of Tibetic varieties spoken	735	.047	.206
Question 9 and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	727	.102**	.006

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.117 Correlation results between place of birth categorisation and Question 9 using Spearman's rho

Question 9: All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other and place of birth categorisation	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	741	-.076*	.039
Kham	741	.031	.392
Utsang	741	.001	.979
India	741	.025	.494

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Table A3.118 Correlation results between number of Tibetic varieties comprehended and question 9 categorised by place of birth using Spearman's rho

Question 9: All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other and number of Tibetic varieties comprehended	N	Correlation coefficient	Sig. (2-tailed)
Amdo	86	.223*	.039
India	273	.122*	.045

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Appendix 4: Questionnaire QS Tibetan version

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༡། རྒན་གས།

☐ ཨཕོ།

☐ མོ།

༢། ལོ། .....

༣། ཁྱིད་རང་འཐུངས་ས་གླ་བ་རེད།

☐ ཨ་མདོ།

☐ ཁམས།

☐ དབུས་གཙང་།

☐ རྒྱ་གར།

☐ གཞན།

དགོངས་དག། གླ་ནས་ཡིན་པ་གསུང་རོགས་གནང།

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๔།། རང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་གྱི་སྒམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ང་བོད་པ་ཡིན།

☐ ང་མདོ་སྨོད་ཡིན།

☐ ང་མདོ་སྨད་ཡིན།

☐ ང་དབུས་གཙང་ཡིན།

☐ ང་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཡིན།

☐ གཞན།

གཞན་པ་གཅེ་ཡིན་གསུང་རོགས་གནང།

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๕།། རང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་གྱི་སྒམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ངས་བོད་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་དབྱིན་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ གཞན།

སྐད་གཞན་དག་གཅེ་མཉེན་གྱི་ཡོད་གསུངས་དང།

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༤༦། རང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་གྱི་སྣམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ངས་དབུས་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་ཁམས་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་ཨ་མདོའི་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ལུལ་གྱི་བོད་སྐད་རྒྱག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ གཞན།

བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་སྐད་གདངས་གཞན་དག་གི་རེ་མཉེན་གྱི་ཡོད་གསུངས་དང།

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༤༧། རང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་གྱི་སྣམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ངས་དབུས་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་ཁམས་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་ཨ་མདོའི་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ལུལ་གྱི་བོད་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་དབྱིན་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་གར་གྱི་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་སྐད་དཔེ་ཡག་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ གཞན།

སྐད་གཞན་དག་གི་རེ་ཡག་པོ་མཉེན་གྱི་ཡོད་གསུངས་དང།

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༧༦། རང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་གྱི་སྣམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ངས་དབུས་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་ཁམས་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་ཨ་མདོ་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ལུལ་གྱི་བོད་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་དབྱིན་ཇི་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་གར་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ ངས་རྒྱ་སྐད་ཤེ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ གཞན།

སྐད་གདངས་གཞན་གཅེ་གོ་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད་གསུངས་དང།

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༧༡། བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་ཐན་ཚུན་གལ་ཆེ་ཆུང་གཅིག་པ་ཡིན།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༧༠། དབུས་གཙང་གྱི་སྐད་ནི་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་ཚང་མའི་ནང་ནས་དྲངས་ཤོས་ཡིན།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༡། རྒ་སར་གནས་སྡོད་བོད་མི་ཚོས་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཀྱི་སྐད་གདངས་ངེས་པར་དུ་སྦྱོང་དགོས།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༢། ངས་སྐད་གདངས་གཅིག་ཁོ་ན་ཤེས་ན་འགྲིག་ས་རེད།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༣། དབུས་སྐད་ཤེས་མཁན་ཚོས་སྐད་གདངས་གཞན་མ་སྦྱང་ཡང་འགྲིག་ས་རེད།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༩༦ ངས་བོད་སྐད་ཀྱི་རྣམ་པ་མི་འདྲ་བ་རྣམས་ཕར་བཤད་པ་ལས་ཚུར་མང་བ་གོ་ཐུབ།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༩༧ བོད་སྐད་ནང་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཀྱི་སྐད་ཡག་ཤོས་རེད།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

༡༩༨ ངས་ཆོལ་ཁ་ཚང་མའི་སྐད་གདངས་ཐོག་ནས་ཀྱང་བོད་མི་དང་འབྲེལ་བ་ཅིད་ཐུབ་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

☐ མཐའ་གཅིག་ཏུ་མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་མེད།

☐ བར་གནས།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཡོད།

☐ མོས་མཐུན་ཤུགས་ཆེ་ཡོད།

འདི་གའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དང་མཉམ་ཞུགས་གནང་མཁན་ཚང་མ་གསང་ཉར་བྱེད་རྒྱུ་ཡིན། ཁྱེད་རང་གིས་ཉམས་ཞིབ་དང་རོགས་རམ་གནང་བར་དགའ་བསུ་ཞུ་རྒྱུ་དང། གལ་སྲིད་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་དྲི་བར་བསམ་འཆར་རམ། ཡང་ན་ཞིབ་ཕྲའི་གནས་ཚུལ་དགོས་ན་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་མཚན་དང་འབྲེལ་ལམ་བྱེད་སའི་ཞལ་བྱང་གཤམ་ལ་འབྲི་རོགས་གནང། དཔྱད་ཁྱེད་ལ་བཙར་དྲི་གནང་འདོད་ཡོད་ན་ཁྱེད་རང་གི་མཚན་དང་ཞལ་བྱང་གཤམ་ལ་འབྲི་རོགས་གནང།།

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Appendix 5: Questionnaire QS English version

Questionnaire on the Tibetan Language

1. What sex are you?

○ male ○ female

2. Age

.....

3. Where were you born?

○ Amdo
○ Kham
○ Utsang
○ India

Other: (please state where)……

4. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

☐ I am Tibetan.
☐ I am Khampa.
☐ I am Amdowa.
☐ I am Utsang.
☐ I am Shejak.

Other: (What other are you?) ……

5. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

☐ I speak Tibetan.
☐ I speak Hindi.
☐ I speak English.
☐ I speak Chinese.

Other: (Please say what others you can speak)……..

6. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

- ☐ I speak Utsang kay.
- ☐ I speak Kham kay.
- ☐ I speak Amdo kay.
- ☐ I speak Shejak kay.

Other: (Please say what other Tibetan varieties you can speak)

……

7. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

- ☐ I speak Utsang kay the best.
- ☐ I speak Kham kay the best.
- ☐ I speak Amdo kay the best.
- ☐ I speak Shejak kay the best.
- ☐ I speak English the best.
- ☐ I speak Hindi the best.
- ☐ I speak Chinese the best

Other: (Please say what you can speak the best)

8. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

- ☐ I understand Utsang kay.
- ☐ I understand Kham kay.
- ☐ I understand Amdo kay.
- ☐ I understand Shejak kay.
- ☐ I understand English.
- ☐ I understand Hindi.
- ☐ I understand Chinese.

Other: (Please say what others you can understand)

9. All varieties of the Tibetan language are as important as each other.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

10. Utsang kay spoken by people from Tibet is the purest form of Tibetan.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

11. Tibetans living in Dharamsala have to learn Shejak kay.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

12. I only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

13. People who speak Utsang kay do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

14. I can understand more varieties of Tibetan than I can speak.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

15. Shejak kay is the purest form of Tibetan kay.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

16. I can communicate in the Tibetan language with Tibetans who speak another variety of Tibetan other than my own.

- Strongly disagree.
- Disagree.
- Neutral.
- Agree.
- Strongly Agree.

All information provided shall be treated with complete confidentiality and the participants shall remain completely anonymous.

Your help in this research is very much appreciated. If you would like to comment on any point regarding this questionnaire or would like more information please write your name and contact details below. Also if you would be interested in taking part in an interview please write your name and contact details below

……

Appendix 6: Principle interview questions template

Demographic

1. What is your name?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?

4. How long did you live in Tibet?
5. What parts of Tibet did you live in?
6. How long have you lived in Dharamsala?
7. What other places have you lived in, and for how long?

Language section

1. What languages do you speak?
2. What is your first language or what are your first languages?
3. How many varieties of Tibetan do you speak?
4. What are they?
5. What Tibetan varieties of speaking can you name?
6. What is the difference between the Tibetan varieties you speak and Shejak kay (please give examples)?
7. What is the difference between Utsang kay and Shejak kay (please give examples)?
8. Do Tibetans born in Tibet have to learn Shejak Tibetan when living in Dharamsala?
9. Do you think that you only need to know one variety of the Tibetan language?
10. Do you think that people who speak Shejak Tibetan do not need to learn other varieties of the Tibetan language?
11. How would you describe the language situation in Dharamsala?
12. How would you describe the language situation in Tibet?
13. Do you think speaking Tibetan is important for preserving Tibetan culture?
14. Do you think it would benefit Tibetan culture if all Tibetans spoke just one variety of Tibetan?
15. How often do you read Tibetan?
16. How often do you watch Tibetan programmes or films?
17. How often do you listen to Tibetan radio programmes?
18. How often do you listen to Tibetan music?
19. How often do you read or write Tibetan online?
20. What education did you receive?
21. And in what languages were the lessons taught in?

Language attitude section

1. Do you think that it is important for people from Kham and Amdo to continue speaking their Tibetan varieties in Dharamsala?
2. Which variety or varieties of Tibetan do you think are the most useful?
3. Which variety or varieties of Tibetan do you think are the purest form or forms of the Tibetan language?

4. Are all varieties of the Tibetan language as important as each other?

Identity section

1. How would you define your identity?
2. How is Tibetan culture in exile different from in Tibet?
3. Do you think it is important to focus on preserving traditional aspects of Tibetan culture?
4. How would you describe the current Tibetan situation?
5. How do you think it will change in the future?
6. How would you describe the relationship between the three main regions of Tibet?
7. How would you describe the relationship between Sanjos and Shejaks?
8. How important is Buddhism to Tibetan culture?
9. What are the differences between Sanjos and Shejaks?
10. What are the differences between Amdowas, Khampas and Utsangs?

Recount a story

1. An audience with the Dalai Lama.

Describe an item

Can you describe the following?

1. How you make thukpa.
2. What does tsampa taste like?
3. What does Tibetan bread look like?
4. What does Lobsang Singay look like?
5. What does the main temple (in dasa) look like?

Appendix 7: Interview informants' basic details

1. Amdo, male, 40 years old
2. Amdo, male, 36 years old
3. Kham, female, 23 years old
4. Kham, male, 35 years old
5. Amdo, male, 40 years old

6. Kham, male, 26 years old
7. Shejak, female, 29 years old
8. Utsang, female, 41 years old
9. Utsang, female, 47 years old
10. Kham, male, 37 years old
11. Kham, female, 28 years old
12. Kham, male, 47 years old
13. Shejak, female, 32 years old
14. Kham, male, 31 years old
15. Kham, female, 43 years old
16. Kham, male, 39 years old
17. Shejak, female, 28 years old
18. Utsang, female, 28 years old
19. Shejak, male, 30 years old
20. Shejak, male, 31 years old
21. Amdo, male, 39 years old
22. Utsang, male, 34 years old
23. Utsang, female, 36 years old
24. Utsang, male, 36 years old
25. Utsang, male, 26 years old
26. Shejak, male, 38 years old
27. Utsang, male, 30 years old
28. Utsang, female, 24 years old
29. Kham, male 30 years old
30. Kham, female, 24 years old
31. Amdo, male, 29 years old
32. Kham, male, 31 years old
33. Kham, male, 46 years old
34. Kham, male, 42 years old
35. Utsang, male, 34 years old
36. Utsang, female, 26 years old
37. Kham, male, 29 years old
38. Kham, male, 25 years old
39. Kham, male, 27 years old
40. Kham, male, 23 years old
41. Kham, male, 25 years old
42. Shejak, female, 32 years old
43. Amdo, male, 34 years old
44. Shejak, male, 26 years old
45. Kham, male, 32 years old
46. Cut*
47. Cut**
48. Amdo, male, 34 years old
49. Amdo, male, 36 years old

50. Kham, male, 39 years old
51. Kham, male, 28 years old
52. Kham, female, 25 years old
53. Utsang, male, 23 years old
54. Kham, male, 21 years old
55. Utsang, female, 26 years old
56. Amdo, male, 34 years old
57. Amdo, male, 28 years old
58. Shejak, female, 30 years old

* It was decided that informant 46 did not partake in the interview, even though they were present.

**Informant 47 is the same as 43.

Appendix 8: Verbal-guise test

ཀེ་རུགས།

□ ཕོ། □ མོ།

༢༽ ལོ། .....

༣༽ ཕྱིད་ངང་འཚྭངས་སྣ་གུ་བ་རེད།

☐ ཞ་མདོ།

☐ ཁམས།

☐ དབུས་གཙང།

☐ རྒྱ་གར།

☐ གཞན།

དགོངས་དགུ། གུ་ནས་ཡིན་པ་གསུང་རོགས་གནང།

.....

༤༽ ངང་ཉིད་ལ་འོས་པའི་དོན་ཚན་ཀྱི་སྒམ་ཆུང་ཁག་ཚང་མ་ལ་རྟགས་འགོད་དགོས།

☐ ང་བོད་པ་ཡིན།

☐ ང་མདོ་སྨོད་ཡིན།

☐ ང་མདོ་སྨད་ཡིན།

☐ ང་དབུས་གཙང་ཡིན།

☐ ང་གཞིས་ཆགས་ཡིན།

☐ གཞན།

གཞན་པ་གུ་རེ་ཡིན་གསུང་རོགས་གནང།

.....

༥. དགུ

རིགས་པ་སྐྱབ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ རིགས་པ་སྐྱབ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

ཟླ་བ་འཁེལ་བ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ཟླ་བ་འཁེལ་བ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྲུས་ཁ་བསྐོ་ཐེག་རེད་ □□□□□□□ གྲུས་ཁ་བསྐོ་ཐེག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྲུས་ཁབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ གྲུས་ཁབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཕན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ཕན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ངག་རྒ

རིག་པ་སྦྱང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རིག་པ་སྦྱང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

ཟླ་ལ་ལེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཟླ་ལ་ལེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྱས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གྱས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྱས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གྱས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཕན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཕན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རེག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རེག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ངག་རྟ

རེག་པ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རེག་པ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སྒོས་འགེལ་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ སྒོས་འགེལ་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྱས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□ གྱས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཏུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དགའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ དགའ་པོ་ཉེ་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གྱས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ གྱས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་ལྷོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ལམ་ལྷོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་རྣོ་དོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□ རིག་པ་རྣོ་དོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དག་ཅ

རིགས་པ་སྦྱད་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིགས་པ་སྦྱད་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅནརེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སློས་འཚེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སློས་འཚེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཀུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཀུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིགས་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིགས་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་སྣང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་སྣང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སྒོས་འཁེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སྒོས་འཁེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དགུ་༢

རིག་པ་སྣང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་སྣང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སྒོས་འཁེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སྒོས་འཁེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་གྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་སྐྱེད་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སློས་འཕེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སློས་འཕེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་སྐྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་སྐྱོང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིག་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིགཱ་པ་སྦྱིད་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིགཱ་པ་སྦྱིད་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཤེས་ཡོན་ཅན་མ་རེད་

སློས་འཕེལ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སློས་འཕེལ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་ཅན་ཞིག་མ་རེད་

ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་ཅན་□□□□□□□□ ལས་ལ་ཉུར་ཙོན་མེད་པ་

དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དྲང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་འཚོར་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་བཟང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

སེམས་པ་ཐུང་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ སེམས་པ་ཐུང་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ དཀའ་པོ་ཉེ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ གུས་ཞབས་དང་ལྡན་པ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ལམ་སྟོང་ཅན་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ ཐན་ཐོགས་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རྒྱུ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

རིགཱ་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་རེད་ □□□□□□□□ རིགཱ་པ་རྣོ་པོ་ཡོད་མ་རེད་

Appendix 9: Verbal-guise test English translation

1. What sex are you?

male female

2. Age

.....

3. Where were you born?

amdo
kham
Utsang
India

Other

Trans; please say where
…….

4. Please tick all of the boxes that apply to you.

I am Tibetan.
I am Khampa.
I am Amdowa.
I am Utsang.
I am Shejak.

Other

What other are you?

…….

The 15 traits used for each of the four voices in audio 1 and 2 on a seven point Likert scale

1. Intelligent – unintelligent
2. Educated – uneducated
3. Trustworthy – untrustworthy
4. Polite – impolite
5. Hardworking – not hardworking
6. Honest – dishonest
7. Likeable – unlikeable
8. Kind – unkind
9. Rude – not rude
10. Friendly – not friendly
11. Respectful – disrespectful
12. Successful – unsuccessful
13. Helpful – unhelpful
14. Wealthy – not wealthy
15. Sharp minded – not sharp minded